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29 January 1996

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Daily Report
East Europe

FBIS-EEU-96-019 *29 January 1996*

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Russia Said 'Ready' for 'Formal' IFOR Acceptance

AU2601165896 Paris AFP in English
1537 GMT 26 Jan 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Brussels, Jan 26 (AFP)—Nine non-NATO countries so far have formally signed up to the NATO-led Implementation Force (IFOR) in Bosnia out of 17 who agreed to take part, an alliance official said here Friday.

The IFOR mission is to include troops or support from about 30 nations with countries such as Russia, Malaysia and Ukraine participating alongside members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

Speaking anonymously, the official said the Russians "are now ready" to give NATO their formal signed acceptance which had been expected for several weeks.

The document covers legal, financial and practical aspects relating to any non-NATO countries under the IFOR mandate.

The only problem so far has been the deployment of Ukrainian troops. When a detachment served as UN peacekeepers, they ransacked their barracks in Visoko, north of Sarajevo, before handing it over to Belgian UN soldiers.

As a result, alliance sources said, few member countries want to have them under their wing.

OSCE: Accord on Confidence-Building Measures in Bosnia

LD2601193196 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1902 GMT 26 Jan 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Vienna, Jan 26 (TANJUG)—Representatives of the Bosnian Serb state of the Republika Srpska (R.S.), the Croat-Muslim Federation, and the Muslim government in Sarajevo achieved an agreement on confidence building measures in Bosnia at a meeting held at the seat of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) in Vienna on Friday evening.

The agreement would later in the evening be signed by representatives of the three sides in Bosnia, newsmen were told by Hungarian OSCE Ambassador and conference chairman Istvan Gyarmati.

The agreement contains provisions on the limitation of military deployment, the reduction of the number of heavy weapon locations, and the withdrawal of troops and heavy weapons to barracks or elsewhere.

Other provisions deal with he disarmament of civilians, the identification and supervision of arms factories, and the guidelines for media representatives' participation in OSCE inspections in Bosnia.

At the opening of negotiations, the participants had exchanged data on military effectives and reached accord to set up and exchange liaison missions among themselves.

With the signinig of the agreement, the three-week-old negotiations would be ended as scheduled by the Dayton agreement.

World Bank Warns Against Delays in Bosnian Aid

AU2601172696 Paris AFP in English
1704 GMT 26 Jan 96

[By Jan Kristiansen]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Paris, Jan 26 (AFP)—Delays in providing millions of dollars in aid to Bosnia could jeopardize the peace process in the former Yugoslav republic, a senior World Bank official warned Friday.

"The time element is the dominating factor, we cannot wait," Michel Noel, the Bank's chief of country operations for central Europe told reporters, after a series of meetings here to mobilize funds for rebuilding Bosnia-Herzegovina.

He put particular emphasis on the timely provision of spring seed, and the speeding up other essential imports and the creation of a social safety net.

"If the population does not see rapid results, this could possibly call into question the peace process," he warned.

Noel was speaking after two-days of high-level working party meetings hosted by the World Bank aimed at seeking to mobilize interest in a first set of projects to help restore normalcy to the war-torn country.

A meeting of some 50 prospective donors in Brussels just before Christmas provided total pledges of over $500 million, he said, adding the World Bank had announced Wednesday $150 million dollars of aid in emergency grants expected to be ratified within the next three weeks.

The Paris talks aimed to translate general commitments into concrete projects that could start up within weeks rather than months, Noel said.

Projects under discussion covered rehabilitation of energy supplies, agriculture, transport, water supply and health, as well as an Emergency Recovery Project to help restore economic activity and jobs.

Removal of land mines—up to 4 million remain intact along the frontlines and the total in Bosnia is estimated

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Albania: Defense Ministry Meets With Military Attaches

AU2701165696 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 26 Jan 96

[Report by Mariana Zegali]

[FBIS Translated Text] A briefing was organized at the Defense Ministry today with the military attaches accredited in the Republic of Albania to acquaint them with activity of the Army and the work done to further strengthen, reform, and restructure it.

Through the main report, presented by Alfred Moisiu, deputy minister for the defense policy, the military attaches were acquainted with the great work done to increase military cooperation and Albania's serious commitment to a serious engagement in cooperative security structures.

Colonel Bektash Kolasi briefed those present on the work currently being carried out in the Army to consolidate the new structure of our armed forces. Through questions, answers, and discussions, the military attaches were acquainted with the problems of the dynamic activity of our Army to establish a broader and more serious cooperation with the armies of the NATO member states and its partners.

The meeting was also useful in acquainting the attaches with the activity aimed toward successfully carrying out all the training exercises within the Partnership for Peace framework.

Albania: PD's, Berisha's 'Role' 'Evident' From Poll

AU2801194396 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 27 Jan 96

[Report by Vjollca Vokshi]

[FBIS Translated Text] The main reason for Tritan Shehu's news conference, Democratic Party [PD] secretary general, was to officially announce the results of the U.S. Republican Institute poll, carried out during the second half of December 1995. According to the results, the advantageous role of the PD and President Sali Berisha in this democracy is evident, as well as the people's optimism in the future. Here are some of the poll's results:

From those polled, 74 percent said that they have a positive impression of President Sali Berisha, 21 percent do not, and 5 percent did not respond.

Regarding the work that Sali Berisha has carried out as president, 77 percent approve, 22 percent disapprove, and 1 percent did not respond.

Sixty-eight percent believe that Sali Berisha is honest, 67 percent think that Berisha is a democrat, 58 percent consider Berisha a new-style leader, and 59 percent think that Berisha should be praised for the country's improvements since 1992.

If parliamentary elections were held today, what party candidate would people vote for?

Forty-one percent replied that they would vote for the PD, 19 percent for the Socialist Party [PS], 16 percent did not respond, and 3 percent would not vote at all.

Sixty-eight percent approve of the PD's work as a government party, 30 percent do not approve, and 2 percent did not respond.

Seventy-eight percent think that the living standard in general has improved since 1992, 5 percent believe it has become worse, 11 percent say it has remained the same, and 6 percent did not respond.

Eighty-four percent of those polled believe that their lives and those of their families will improve, 1 percent says it will get worse, 5 percent says it will remain the same, and 10 percent did not answer.

At the news conference, Tritan Shehu expressed confidence in signing a new contract with the Albanian electorate. Considering these results, Shehu does not seem to be basing his opinion only on the poll results, but on the entire work, activity, and achievements of the PD and its government, inside and outside the country. However, Shehu demands honesty from the other political parties, which should open themselves up and make the poll results public, without falsifying and manipulating them, as happened recently with the Social Democratic Party and the Democratic Alliance at a time when the PS was mourning in silence, as the PD leader put it.

The news conference was open to other questions and topics as well. Responding to a question on the new electoral law presented by the PD and the remarks by some political parties, Shehu explained that by attaching more priority to the majority system, this law aims to ensure a stable government for the one that will win. Shehu added that many sections in this law, such as the one on electoral commissions, the publication of the campaign in the media, etc., were based on developed Western models, such as those of France, Italy, Germany, Austria, etc.

Asked about the divisions in the PS, Shehu stated that the PS should be able to explain this rift, as their candidates are part of it. Conservative matters connected with the Nano [imprisoned PS chairman] and Ruci

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structures and the secret police dominate, while dozens of reform matters are left off the lists.

Considering the problem of election alliances, the PD leader explained that the PD does not favor preelection coalitions, but envisages postelection ones with pleasure. At the same time, the PD is not against preelection cooperation, which may constitute the basis of a postelection coalition.

The PD leader's news conference lasted approximately 45 minutes.

Albania: Netherlands To Open Consulate in Tirana

AU2701171296 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 26 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The Netherlands ambassador in our country gave a reception last evening on the occasion of the official opening of the Netherlands Consulate in our country. In his speech, the Netherlands ambassador, Baron Gerhard van Pallandt, expressed a desire for the mutual strengthening of relations between the Kingdom of the Netherlands and Albania.

Deputy Prime Ministers Dylber Vrioni and Dashamir Shehi; Selim Belortaja, secretary of state for foreign relations; personalities, functionaries of the diplomatic corps accredited in Tirana, businessmen, and dignitaries in art and culture were invited to the reception. According to Baron van Pallandt, the seat of the Netherlands Consulate will soon be built in Tirana.

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Bulgaria: Greek PM Urges Joint Infrastructure Projects

AU2901124496 Sofia PARI in Bulgarian 20 Jan 96 p 10

[Interview with new Greek Prime Minister Konstandinos Simitis by Sonya Koltuklieva; place and date not given: "Greece's Relations With Bulgaria Are Exemplary"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Koltuklieva] Mr. Simitis what place does Bulgaria hold in Greece's Balkan strategy?

[Simitis] I believe that if we want to develop relations between Greece and the other Balkan countries and to develop the Balkans in general, we have only one possibility, namely, to give priority to transportation and other infrastructure projects. The Balkans can only be developed by joint efforts; therefore, we have to cooperate.

[Koltuklieva] Do you consider that the plans to make Salonika a financial and business center in the Balkans may arouse fears among certain circles in Bulgaria, Romania, Serbia, or other Balkan countries?

[Simitis] There are no grounds for apprehension. What we are trying to do is to develop Salonika as our main center for implementing our ties and relations with the other Balkan countries. Such a center should be located close to our borders with other Balkan states. From Greece's viewpoint, Salonika is undoubtedly of great importance for developing our relations with the other Balkan countries.

[Koltuklieva] What in your view is the main problem in Bulgarian-Greek relations? Do you attach any fateful significance to the unresolved issues relating to the Maritsa, Mesta, and Struma Rivers, or the opening of new border checkpoints?

[Simitis] No, I would describe these problems as secondary. They can be resolved by negotiations. In my view, the chief problem is that we have not yet overcome the bloc mentality dating from the time of the cold war or the attitudes of hostility between different countries. People want to maintain ties between one another. We must work to strengthen these ties, and not regard our partner as a source of threats. We must find a new way of cooperating different from those used in the past. Common efforts will be needed to achieve this. The main difficulty is not connected with the issue of the rivers or with the borders, which we really must open up. The most difficult thing is to convince ourselves that we share a common fate and we have to work to create a new standard in interstate relations so as to fully realize our capabilities in the Balkans.

[Koltuklieva] What do you mean by a new standard of relations?

[Simitis] We still imagine that difficulties and problems exist between us, and we cannot see our common future. This is an issue of culture, of our way of thinking. If it did not exist, we would have no unresolved problems concerning the rivers and borders, nor would our talks on routes linking Greece and Bulgaria be so prolonged; we would have settled the issues long ago.

[Koltuklieva] Do you intend to visit Sofia?

[Simitis] Yes, of course, and we have to visit the other Balkan countries.

[Koltuklieva] Can it be said that Bulgaria is your top priority in the Balkans?

[Simitis] Greece has very good relations with Bulgaria, and this remains our priority. We can and should provide an example for others in this respect.

Bulgaria: Videnov Reviews Government's Successes

AU2601191896 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 26 Jan 96

[Report by Kalina Stancheva]

[FBIS Translated Text] At a news conference given today in the Council of Ministers building, the members of the government of the Democratic Left reported on their work at the end of the first year of their term in office. In his report, Prime Minister Zhan Videnov quoted figures illustrating the results achieved in the economic and social fields; on the basis of these figures, he said, it is possible to conclude that the figures for 1995 show the best macroeconomic performance of the last five years. The prime minister presented figures that revealed the positive changes achieved in overcoming inflation, unemployment, and the decline in incomes.

With regard to guaranteeing security and law and order in the country, the prime minister's report continued, the cabinet had not managed to create sufficiently effective conditions for combating widespread crime, while deficiencies still exist in the laws and law-and-order bodies, preventing them from dealing properly with criminals. We have not shown enough determination, he said, to overcome the fact that 80 percent of all crimes detected remain unpunished. According to the prime minister, for the first time in many years, there are signs of a positive trend in the efforts to bring crime under control, which seems to be somewhat overlooked, and this trend should be encouraged through combined efforts.

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Bulgaria: New Choice Backs Zhelev for 2d Term

AU2601191796 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 26 Jan 96

[Report by Silviya Velikova]

[FBIS Translated Text] Today President Zhelyu Zhelev met with the leadership of New Choice. One of the subjects discussed at the meeting was an analysis of the one-year administration of the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] and its coalition partners. According to New Choice Cochairman Ivan Pushkarov, the most dangerous consequence of the Socialists' year in office is that the BSP has finally rejected the roundtable agreement, which makes it impossible to achieve a consensus in society.

The participants in the meeting also discussed the presidential elections. According to Ivan Pushkarov, the opposition must agree on a joint presidential candidature, and the most suitable candidate is the incumbent head of state—President Zhelev. Pushkarov believes it is possible for the Bulgarian democratic community to unite in nominating the current president as their candidate. According to New Choice, the main task now is not to topple the government, but to win the presidential elections.

Bulgaria: NEC, EU Experts Discuss Tests on Kozloduy

AU2601185396 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 26 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Today the National Electricity Company [NEC] held a technical conference to discuss in detail the program of tests to be carried out on the shell of the No. 1 reactor at the Kozloduy Nuclear Plant during the reactor's forthcoming planned maintenance. EU experts participated in the meeting, as well as specialists from the Russian manufacturers and from official Bulgarian scientific institutes in the energy sector. They agreed that samples of the shell's metal should be taken for analysis to establish the shell's serviceability. The experts decided that six metal samples be taken from the reactor shell. These specimens will be subjected to chemical analyses to determine the metal's phosphor content and to mechanical analyses to establish the actual condition of the shell. The analyses will be conducted jointly with Russian experts, Western research organizations, and interested Bulgarian Government departments. The conditions and sources of finance for the tests will be agreed upon later. It is expected that the decision to restart the reactor, following the tests, will be made before the beginning of the 1996-97 fall and winter heating season.

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Czech Republic: Text of EU Application Memorandum

AU2601142896 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 24 Jan 96 p 8

[Text of memorandum submitted with the EU membership application by Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus to his Italian counterpart, Lamberto Dini, in Rome on 23 January 1996: "The Czech Republic Wants To Take Part in the Creation of the European Work"]

[FBIS Translated Text] After careful consideration, the Government of the Czech Republic reached a decision to submit to the authorities of the European Union the EU membership application of the Czech Republic. Thereby it confirms the intention repeatedly declared by itself, its individual members, and other constitutional officials.

By this decision, the Government of the Czech Republic is taking a step that is unique in its significance in the modern history of the country, well aware of its political and economic consequences and its historical importance. By taking this step, it assumes a great historical responsibility before the present and future generations. It has reached the decision, however, that this very responsibility toward the citizens of its country and generations of other European nations does not allow any alternative.

The Government of the Czech Republic is aware of the beneficial nature and irreversibility of the process of European integration and its unique actual expression in the concept of the EU institutions. It is also aware of the great prospects and future potential of the opportunities that this process and this concept offer. It appreciates the courage and the foresight of its founders and their successors, their patience, tenacity, and realism. Facing this historical challenge, it assigns itself the task of demonstrating the same characteristics.

The existence of the EC created a new political and economic situation in post-WWII Europe, which has neither historical precedent nor a corresponding opposite. Several generations of member-state politicians created by their persistent efforts at work, not always perfect, like any human work, but a viable work with prospects, a nonstatic, living work with its own strong dynamics. It managed to give the European nations a political answer to the postwar political and economic problems. Despite all difficulties and shortcomings, it secured for the citizens of member states long decades of peace, political stability, good form in international relations, unprecedented freedom, and economic prosperity, and it radiates or endeavors to radiate also into its environs. It is only with trepidation that one can retrospectively imagine what modern European history would be like without the existence of the EC and its predecessors.

The Government of the Czech Republic is aware of this unique, certainly not granted, often not very popular, and always fragile work that must be supported, reinforced, and realistically developed and is ready at the appropriate time to assume a proportional part of coresponsibility.

In the face of this historical challenge, the Government of the Czech Republic cannot imagine any alternative. For most of its recorded history, the Czech national identity has been a component of power formations with a large quantity of diverse ethnic and cultural communities and traditions. Our identity has been formed by coexistence with diversity. This coexistence certainly had its bright periods, but also dark ones, with malignant consequences of disintegration and national ego[illegible]s. This positive and painful historical experience [illegible]es it possible for the Czech Republic to fully comprehend the integration processes based on the solidarity of the European nations, their contribution and risks, which exist along this road. The comprehension is further enhanced by the fact that the territory of the present Czech Republic has been for centuries with an involuntary exception of several past decades, a natural and salient part of the West European civilization sphere. This sphere is appearing increasingly in contrast as the sphere protecting and developing identical civilization and cultural values, whereby, to a great extent, it is identical with the EU sphere.

The Government of the Czech Republic is committed to the ideas of liberalization of economic activities and international economic relations. Therefore it shares the view that the integration processes, particularly the formation of a single internal market and an economic and monetary union, are adequate means for opening an area for the development of dynamic economic forces in Europe. At the same time, the Government of the Czech Republic accepts the other, extraeconomic aspects of European integration.

The Czech nation and its government have found the answer to these challenges in a difficult quest and will persevere in this process just as EU member states have done. This must be considered matter-of-fact. It was not easy, after the recent recovery of full state sovereignty, to accept the idea that this sovereignty would have to be given up in certain areas in the future. Nevertheless, the Government of the Czech Republic reached the same irreversible conclusion present member states had reached in the past, that a trade of parts of one's own state sovereignty for a shared part of suprastate sovereignty is unavoidable in the modern European

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development for the benefit of one's own country as well as for all of Europe.

It was not easy to grasp the principles of the operation of the complex and, at times, insufficiently transparent mechanism of the EU, which contains liberalizing principles broadening the freedoms, in combination with the necessary regulatory, disciplining, and organizing elements, and dispel the suspicions concerning this complex body. It was not easy to internally accept the singular complex of institutions, powers, regimes, procedures, and related legislation as amassed by decades of agreements between the member states.

Nevertheless, the Czech Republic accepts for its future membership the EU as it is and as it will be developed by the collective wisdom of the member states in the coming months and years. The Government of the Czech Republic will be ready to accept *acquis communautaire* [EU gains] and the standard of member-state cooperation in all areas and at all levels that the EU will have reached at the time of entry of the Czech Republic. The Czech Republic will perceive this cooperation as cooperation of equal partners. At the same time, it will be ready to fully participate in the future decisionmaking and strengthening of the EU.

Despite the difficult quest, the government has made all of the fundamental decisions and considers them mature and irreversible. The position of the Czech Government is simplified by the broad support it receives from the majority of citizens and decisive forces in the country.

The Government of the Czech Republic believes that the appropriate time for participation of the Czech Republic in this ongoing work is approaching, and therefore it is taking this important step. It is of the opinion that the commitment to the ideas of integration as well as the achieved progress of the Czech Republic in rebuilding a democratic society and an open market economy in political and economic stability condone this step. Similarly, the government is convinced that this step is justified by the results of its relations with the EU, which exist both within the framework and above the framework of the European Agreement, including the structured activities in preparation for future full membership. The Government of the Czech Republic is convinced that the EU will also soon be ready to respond to this decision of the Government of the Czech Republic with positive steps.

The Czech Republic does not seek unilateral advantages in its future membership, well aware of the myopic nature of such an approach, which history has never tolerated. It is difficult to estimate today the tangible political, economic, or spiritual benefit of Czech membership for the EU, its member states, and the entire Europe. In this respect, exact calculations cannot be provided, and well-meant promises are inappropriate. The EU certainly will observe in its consideration not only the conceivable future value of the renowned Czech political, economic, cultural, and spiritual traditions, but also the concept, ingenuity, and system of the Czech political and economic transformation, its results to date, the credibility of the Czech Government policy, and the principles on which the Czech Government builds and which it advocates in its specific political practice.

The creation of European work has always been a matter of educated imagination, political courage, patient everyday work, criticism, sober realism, solidarity, and ability to cooperate, accommodate, and compromise. The Czech Republic intends to use just such an approach to the European work.

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Slovakia: Prime Minister on EU, Hungarian Treaty

LD2601221896 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1738 GMT 26 Jan 96

[Regular Friday interview with Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar by correspondent Martin Dobos—live or recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted]

[Dobos] [Passage omitted] The Slovak Government's initiatives aimed at improving cooperation with the countries of the former Soviet Union are being challenged both at home and abroad. Several observers point out discrepancies between Slovakia's efforts to become integrated into European structures—that is, westward—and, on the other hand, its eastward activities. What is the government's philosophy on this? Do these activities not contradict each other?

[Meciar] It is not correct to contrast these things. It is not correct to think that cooperation with Russia means turning away from the EU. Could one possibly accuse Germany of such thinking, a country that is the largest investor on the territory of Russia? On the contrary! It was clearly said at the Bertelsmann forum in Bonn: Go to those markets and help there! [passage omitted]

[Dobos] Prime Minister, have you been considering the possibility of a referendum regarding Slovakia's joining European and transatlantic structures?

[Meciar] There is no other option. The Slovak Constitution itself requires every new membership in an international community that involves handing over some powers and sovereignty to be submitted for approval in a referendum. This is a constitutional condition in our country; we are not speaking about an idea or intention put forward by a political entity.

It is natural that every political entity is formulating its policy and its content. However, it is clear that NATO will not be extended in 1996 and that intensive discussions will continue. A discussion about joining the EU will become more intensive in 1997. It seems that all of this will be facing Slovak political life during the 1998 election campaign. [passage omitted]

[Dobos] [Passage omitted] According to a statement made in Strasbourg on 24 January by Dusan Slobodnik [chairman of Slovak parliament Foreign Affairs Committee], we will have to consider whether a June decision by the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe needs to be waited for or whether we will ratify, as we have previously said, the basic treaty with Hungary before that. Prime Minister, what is your view on this?

[Meciar] The treaty will be ratified in March. The interpretation of Recommendation No. 1201 is a matter for the Council of Europe. It will naturally have an impact on us as well. However, the interpretation of this document is embodied in the Hungarian-Slovak treaty and in the document the Slovak Government handed over [to the Hungarian side] before the treaty was signed. Therefore, we do not have any problem interpreting it.

This does not mean that the treaty will do away with Hungarian nationalism. It will continue to exist, but the treaty forms a framework beyond which nationalists will be unable to go. This is why representatives of some parties protested in Budapest after the signing of the treaty. This framework will apply to the Hungarian Government, which will thus be unable to support nationalism officially. In this sense, it constitutes progress, when looking at our historical relations and experience, including the principle of the security of our borders. This is why the treaty is, in my view, a big step forward in this context, and the Slovak Republic should ratify it. [passage omitted]

[Dobos] What is your view, Prime Minister, of a statement by your coalition partner, the Slovak National Party [SNS], about the conditions for ratification of the treaty?

[Meciar] Every state protects its existence and its unity through clauses of the penal code. After 1990, our country, in the drive to get rid of the penal code clauses that were being abused by the Communist Party, omitted clauses to which we should return. This is why there are reasons for demanding the amendment of Section 1 of the penal code on the protection of state. The second bill that is being drafted is the law on the state of emergency, and all democratic states have such laws. [passage omitted]

Thus, I think that the SNS's demands are in harmony with the government's program statement and do not contradict the European and democratic character of the law. Therefore, it is correct to agree on them. [passage omitted]

Slovakia: Commentary Questions Joining EU, NATO

AU2601141096 Bratislava NOVA SMENA MLADYCH in Slovak 25 Jan 96 p 3

[Commentary by Miroslav Svicky: "EU and NATO—Saviors or Smart Alecks?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In spite of the unequivocal political and mass media propaganda for entry into the EU and NATO to which Slovakia has been exposed

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for six years, fewer than half the citizens consider membership in these organizations beneficial for their country. On the other hand, despite the fact that no post-November [1989] government and no significant opposition group has sought neutrality, more than one-third of our citizens are convinced that "going its own way" is the best option for Slovakia. "Government representatives must convince all citizens, not only by means of verbal arguments but also by deeds, that they should say no to neutrality and yes to our heading into the EU," claims NARODNA OBRODA commentator Juraj Alner. A similar view is also being upheld by other representatives of political and journalistic circles. But why such fierce Pan-Europeanism? And, above all, FOR WHAT? [preceding two words printed in uppercase letters]

It is obvious that mere membership in an organization cannot solve the problems of any state. The problems of Great Britain, as manifested, for example, in the English-Irish or English-Scottish conflicts, cannot be solved by membership in some supranational economic institution, just as NATO was unable to paralyze the Turkish-Greek war, despite both countries' membership in this military alliance. Looking for a savior regarding ethnic problems (of which we have substantially fewer than the above-mentioned, but also other European states) is thus blatant nonsense. And what about looking for salvation for economic issues? An attractive idea, indeed. Many developing countries (most of them with a poorer economic situation than Slovakia) have succumbed to this mirage. And prosperity really came—not for their citizens but for a cast of foreigners from wealthy countries, who had descended there to cleverly seize control of their markets, with the help of some domestic "experts." They achieved this goal with significant assistance from so-called political conditions, dictated to these countries under the cloak of democracy, although frequently the motives of these conditions were purely financial. The same goes for the so-called security conditions, which go hand in hand with arms trade. Can there be a safer source of foreign profits than state orders for foreign weapons destined for the unnecessary reequipment of the Army? (Incidentally, has anyone told us how much the Army's reequipment would cost us in the event of our entry into NATO?)

Evidently the issue of primary concern is not whether we will elbow our way into some economic or military organization, but how to put the country back on its feet—economically and also spiritually. Such a country can then claim dignified conditions in any supranational organization, and only such a country will also command respect.

It is questionable whether the citizens of a nonsovereign, manipulated country are even in a position to make sovereign decisions.

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Hungary: Keleti Assesses Possible NATO Membership

LD2701125296 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1200 GMT 27 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] According to Defense Minister Gyorgy Keleti, it is a mistake to believe that Hungary's participation in Bosnian peacekeeping will automatically lead to entry into NATO. Keleti told a conference on security policy that the country already meets the general entry requirements and that the Hungarian technical battalion leaving for Bosnia also fully complies with NATO's regulations. This, however, is only one unit. The rest of the Army must also be transformed so that the Hungarian Army can fit into NATO, the minister said.

Hungary: MIEP Protests IFOR Troops in Hungary

LD2601223596 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 2100 GMT 26 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The Hungarian Justice and Life Party [MIEP] regards the stationing of international peace forces in Hungary as the occupation of Transdanubia [western half of Hungary]. Party Chairman Istvan Csurka has said at a protest rally in Matyasfoeld [Budapest suburb] that the U.S. troops will continue to advance, maybe even as far as Zahony [easternmost town at Ukrainian border]. In his view, the peace forces' presence brings no profit whatsoever to the country.

The MIEP rally demanded in unison the ordering back home of the Hungarian soldiers sent abroad.

Hungary: Minority Policies Explained in Transylvania

96CH0019A Budapest ROMANIAI MAGYAR SZO in Hungarian 1 Dec 95 p 1

[Report on views expressed by Laszlo Labody, titular state secretary and chairman of the Office for Hungarians Beyond the Borders, by Laszlo Fejer: "State Secretary Laszlo Labody Says That Grievances Are Not the Only Things in the World"]

[FBIS Translated Text] On 28 November, the Szilagy County UDMR [Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania—UDMR in Romanian, RMDSZ in Hungarian] set up a meeting in Zilah [Zalau] with State Secretary Laszlo Labody, director of the Office for Hungarians Beyond the Borders [HTMH], who was accompanied by his colleague Jozsef Balint Pataki. UDMR county chairman Sandor Kozma provided the guest with data on the county, and then explained that, prior to 1989, Hungary refused to play the role of motherland for Hungarians living outside its borders; and that this attitude began to change during the Antall administration; that is why they were worried about the new administration, wondering to what extent, if any, would the new leadership represent the interests of minority Hungarians. He also explained that a settling of the affair of Romanians versus the Hungarian minority may be the strongest pillar of a treaty; he felt that, even though the UDMR has provided advice ever since, Hungarian diplomacy was at a disadvantage when President Iliescu announced his policy of reconciliation.

According to Labody, we must, first of all, look into the future, but the question is, from what perspective. No one would have thought ten years ago that Hungarians in Zilah, for instance, would have their own building for assembly, their own organizations, libraries, or newspapers, which means that there has been a change. Solutions must be sought from the perspective of space and time, and it is an affluent and democratic Romania where the solution lies. At present, the government is not open-handed even toward its own majority citizens, which means that it is not only antiminority but also anti-Romanian. He cited the education law as an example. Since only the government can start and finance a school, it also has the right of decision and, thus, it educates subjects, not citizens. A solution must include the autonomy of public administration, i.e., Romanian and Hungarian autonomy based on parity.

At present, the HTMH is strengthening the bargaining position of Hungarians living in Romania; in addition to political assistance, it also provides financial assistance through foundations, e.g., in training and continued education. Even some cooperation exists, exemplified by the fact that Gyula Horn met with the chairman of the UDMR, not only immediately following his inauguration but several times since then. The state secretary said that we do indeed need a treaty and that Hungary has already signed treaties with some of its neighbors. But he also said that there is no bargaining when it comes to minority issues. The Romanian-Hungarian treaty is actually complete, the translation has been checked, but the two parties were unable to come to an agreement on the paragraph that deals with the minority issue. It was worth the trouble, but Hungary cannot accept different standards when it comes to the minority issue—which is part of a historical reconciliation.

Many issues were discussed at the almost three-hour meeting, including the charge that Hungary simply relinquished minority Hungarians to the neighboring states. The state secretary refuted that charge, saying that they have been in touch with the organizations of minority Hungarians living in the neighboring states. He presented information on foundations which have provided

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billions of forints in assisting minority organizations, churches, and educational causes.

He applauded the fact that the UDMR was formed in December 1989, that a Hungarian community—which was created without outside help and whose accomplishments are well known—does indeed exist, and that the UDMR has created an unparalleled structure. Hungarians in Transylvania must be proud of their accomplishments because, after all, grievances are not the only things in the world.

Hungary: Leaders of MDF's Deputy Group Resign

LD2601203596 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1830 GMT 26 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] At the two-day meeting of the Hungarian Democratic Forum's [MDF] deputy group, which started today, the leadership of the group has announced its resignation. Ivan Szabo and his deputy, Imre Konya, will be acting leaders until the national assembly to be held in March.

At the meeting, the deputy group extended the mandate of its titular deputy chairmen until the party's national assembly. The deputy group decided to inform Gyorgy Schamschula [MDF politician who quit the party last week] that his presence would not be desirable in the MDF deputy group in the future.

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B-H: Muratovic Hopes To Form 'Government of Experts'

LD2501222696 Sarajevo Televizija Bosne i Hercegovine in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 25 Jan 96

[Passages within quotation marks are recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] Dr. Hasan Muratovic, the prime minister-designate of the republic's government, today talked about the current issues concerning the new government of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina at a regular news conference of the Party of Democratic Action [SDA]. Reference was also made about the upcoming session of the party's Main Committee.

[Unidentified correspondent] Dr. Hasan Muratovic, proposed as the republic's new prime minister by the SDA, spoke about his activities in forming the new government of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. He said that the key concept was a clear division of competences between the republican and federal governments, on the basis of the Dayton Agreement on the implementation of the Federation, under which the government of the Republic is authorized to act as the government of an internationally recognized state. The core of its work is also defined through the functional division of competences within the ministries and the functioning of the authorities at all levels.

[Muratovic] "This means at the level of the state, the Federation, the cantons, and the municipalities. We will try to establish as close links as possible between the entities in the upcoming period, in order to fully implement the peace agreement."-

[Correspondent] In addition to this, Dr. Muratovic specified that a particularly important part of the government's work will be creating conditions for the economic reconstruction of the country and the return of refugees.

[Muratovic] "I will try to form a government of experts, a technocratic government."

[Correspondent] The two ruling parties — the SDA and the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Union] — have carried out the necessary consultations concerning candidates for ministers and deputy ministers. The Croat side will not make any considerable changes, Dr. Muratovic said, but he could not name any candidates from the ranks of the Bosniak and Serb nations.

[Muratovic] "I am still doing consultations, more or less on my own. I must put forward my proposals. You know I must consult a wide circle of people when I get down to the final choice."

[Correspondent] Everything about the government will be revealed later this month at the session of the Republic's assembly.

The transformation and the reorganization of the SDA was announced at the news conference today. Amila Omersoftic, the vice chairwoman of the party's Main Committee, said that the SDA Executive Committee will suggest to the Main Committee that it pass a statutory decision whereby the mandate of the existing members of SDA bodies will be extended by at least six months. New candidates for vacant positions will be named. The Muslim Youth Association will be renamed into Bosniak Youth Association. The setting up of a human rights commission was announced as well.

B-H: Muratovic on Prospects for Integration, Mostar

AU2601155396 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 26 Jan 96 pp 1-2

[Interview with Bosnian Prime Minister-Designate Hasan Muratovic by Jozsef Szabo; place and date not given: "I Am for Bosnia's Unity"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *The first reports spoke of a "political anonymous person" and ruler of the Balkan bazaar when mentioning Hasan Muratovic, the 55-year-old university professor and businessman designated to form a Bosnian government. In his interview to NEPSZABADSAG, Hasan Muratovic described himself as a committed believer in his country's unity. His first task is to create a government of experts, a government whose main goal will be to implement the Dayton peace agreement.*

[Szabo] When will you start work?

[Muratovic] The assembly will adopt the new government of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and of the Bosnian-Croation Federation on 30 January. According to the Dayton agreement, the republic's government and the federation government will function as separate bodies. Foreign affairs, financial matters, treade and telecommunications, refugee affairs, contacts with international bodies, citizenship affairs, and other state-level issues will belong to the Government of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. As the head of this government, I regard my task as being to ensure a level of autonomy for the Bosnian-Croatian Federation and the Serb Republic that guarantees the survival of this territory's economy and culture.

[Szabo] How do you envisage the renewal of contacts between the two communities?

[Muratovic] In the spirit of the peace agreement, I will try to see to it that the relations between the

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two entities change in a favorable way. For the first time since the war, representatives of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina talked with the Serbs and the representatives of the Bosnian-Croatian Federation in Sarajevo on 24 January. We continued these negotiations on the future of the country and the integration of Bosnia-Herzegovina on 25 January, and we will continue these consultations until the scheduled elections in six months' time.

[Szabo] What are the chances of integration?

[Muratovic] I am optimistic, but not exaggeratedly optimistic. There will only be real integration when democratic relations emerge in the Serb territories controlled by Karadzic and his followers.

[Szabo] Do the problems in Mostar hinder this process?

[Muratovic] After the leading party of the Croats living in this region declared invalid all the licenses of the former Herzeg- Bosnian Republic on 24 January, they took yet another step toward the unity of Bosnia. We agreed to let an international arbitration court decide on outlining the districts of Mostar.

[Szabo] When can we expect the normalization of relations between Sarajevo and Belgrade?

[Muratovic] The two countries recognized each other de jure, but this does not have any practical result yet. We will open interest- representation offices in each other's capital in the near future, and will raise the level of our diplomatic relations to that of charges d'affairs. There are plans to start the air traffic connecting the two capitals. This could be a signal for economic and other relations.

[Szabo] According to press reports, Bosnians are held as prisoners in Serbia. Does this cause any problem, like the exchange of prisoners in Bosnia?

[Muratovic] We would like to see that, in the framework of normalizing relations between Bosnia and Yugoslavia, Milosevic releases the Bosnians who fled into Serbia from the bloodshed in Srebrenica and Zepa. The problems experienced at the exchange of war prisoners in Bosnia can be solved soon. However, we regard the list the Serbs prepared on the Bosnians prisoners to be unacceptable. They have much more than 150 prisoners, but they are only willing to release that many people. We will begin new talks on the prisoners this weekend.

[Szabo] When can the refugees return home?

[Muratovic] We are organizing the return of refugees in cooperation with the UN High Commissioner for Refugees. We will hold talks with Hungarian authorities on the return of refugees who fled to Hungary in Vienna on 2 and 3 February. We will use some of the reconstruction funds received from international sources to create living conditions for the returning refugees.

[Szabo] When will you visit Hungary?

[Muratovic] So far, I have not planned a visit, but I will gladly travel there if I get an invitation. Even tomorrow.

B-H: Izetbegovic Addresses SDA Main Committee Meeting

LD2701205896 Sarajevo Televizija Bosne i Hercegovine in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 27 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] A two-day meeting of the main committee of the Party of Democratic Action [SDA] opened in Sarajevo today. The most interesting points on the agenda are personnel changes in the main committee — the departure of some people and the arrival of new ones — and the party's reorganization before the elections. Only the names of two Bosnian generals who will become members of the SDA top echelon have leaked from the meeting, but this will not be the only surprise of the ruling party. More will be known about this tomorrow, when the main committee meeting is over. Today's session was opened to the public. [passage omitted including indistinct portion]

Izetbegovic, the SDA chairman, spoke in great detail about the party's program declaration, winning the people's trust, the elections, and the days of deceptive peace. He stressed that the SDA had won 86 of the 240 seats in the Republic's assembly and three out of the seven seats in the country's presidency in the 1990 parliamentary elections in. President Izetbegovic compared what has been done with what was proclaimed in the program, and said:

[Begin Izetbegovic recording] One, we have remained faithful to the principle of freedom, democracy, and human rights. Two, we have a majority, but we do not practice the dictatorship of the majority. Three, we have remained faithful to the idea of Bosnia, without asking about the price or risks. Four, we have awaken the national awareness in the Muslim people and restored to them confidence and their historical name. Five, we have not forgotten our brothers in Sandzak. Six, we have defined our goal in education and school curriculum, which we have largely implemented. Finally, we have proclaimed the principle against hatred and revanchism, and we have adhered to that principle.

After the founding assembly, the party went on a victorious trip through Bosnia-Herzegovina and abroad, where our people live. The SDA held 120 founding assemblies in less then six months prior to the parliamentary elections held on 18 November 1990. There were founding assemblies in almost all municipalities in Bosnia-

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Herzegovina, and seven were held in Sandzak, 13 in Croatia, four in Slovenia, four in Kosovo, and one in Macedonia. In the same period we set up 24 branches abroad: two in Austria, ten in Germany, five in Switzerland, one in Holland, two in the United States, two in Australia, and two in Canada. [end recording]

Wounding up his detailed report on the six years of SDA activity, President Izetbegovic stressed:

[Begin Izetbegovic recording] This was a small selection from an abundance of facts and events that illustrate the party's work in the past period. These events stand like signposts on the difficult path our party has passed, together with our people.

That path has not always been straight. Along it, we have both fallen and risen, we have shown both hesitation and determination. Faced with the horror of the war, many have left. Most of our members withstood all temptations in a manly fashion, standing upright, with a faith in God and his promise that he will help the people who are determined to help themselves. [end recording]

Around 20 members of the main committee and guests took part in the debate that ensued. As part of the debate on the SDA election program, Ejup Ganic suggested 26 issues that should be included in the program, including the following:

[Begin Ganic recording] Unitary and democratic Bosnia-Herzegovina, the continued building of democratic institutions, power concentrated in the parliament, multi-party system, the market economy, the multiethnic community. [end recording]

Members of the main committee today approved the decision that the mandate of the committee members should be extended. The session, whose agenda includes changing the statute, a report on the work of SDA bodies and personnel changes, will resume tomorrow.

B-H: OSCE-Brokered Confidence-Building Accord Reached

AU2601200196 Paris AFP in English 1927 GMT 26 Jan 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Vienna, Jan 26 (AFP) — Bosnia's former warring parties reached an agreement Friday on military confidence-building measures ahead of a midnight (2300 GMT) deadline, officials said.

Istvan Gyarmati, the Hungarian diplomat chairing the talks, said the accord was due to be signed later in the evening and would take effect as of the 2300 GMT deadline.

Under the U.S.-brokered Dayton peace agreement for Bosnia signed in Paris in December, the OSCE [Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe] was asked to work out confidence-building measures between the rival parties, notably the verification of heavy weapons stocks and armed forces' strengths.

Gyarmati said there would be a period of inspection from March of units up to battalion strength and stocks of tanks, armoured vehicles, artillery pieces of more than 75-mm, aircraft and combat helicopters held by each side.

He told a news conference that the 27-page agreement "went further" than similar accords concluded in the past between and eastern bloc countries and the West.

But he admitted he was expecting "sticking points" in the implementation of the settlement.

Agreement on an outline accord had earlier foundered on Serb insistence that the Bosnian government delegation should not initial documents as it represents a state whose institutions were superseded by the Dayton accords.

It would be signed by three sides, Gyarmati said — Bosnia and Hercergovina for the Sarajevo government, the Moslem-Croat Federation and the Serb Republic.

The Serbs also objected to the make-up of weapons inspection teams, which will consist of four representatives of the former warring parties and four international inspectors.

They were unhappy half the inspectors would be named by the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, mainly from the Bosnia contact group states of Britain, France, Germany, Russia and the United States.

B-H: Serb Republic Deputy FM on Signing Vienna Accord

LD2801163196 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1404 GMT 28 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Vienna, 28 Jan (SRNA) — Radomir Lukic, deputy foreign minister of the Serb Republic has said that by signing the agreement on confidence-building measures in Vienna on 26 January, a series of decisions were made with the aim of strengthening trust between the Serb Republic [RS] and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation.

"The talks on Article 2 of the Dayton Agreement are over. The agreement is signed and what now remains to be done is to carry out inspections on the ground and check basic facts," said Lukic in a statement for SRNA and explained:

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"The agreement is a combination of the Vienna document on confidence-building measures of 1994 and the agreement on limiting conventional armaments of 1992.

"This agreement includes some specific obligations laid down by the Dayton agreement, such as the disbanding of armed groups of civilians, the termination of special operations, and such things."

According to Lukic, the basic problem that was raised during the talks was the principled role of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe [OSCE] in confidence-building measures, because the idea advocated by its [OSCE] representatives was to be granted unrestricted role in this process.

"The OSCE wanted to exercise control over so-called facilities that are subject to inspection independently, in its own way, and in its own time, to which we objected because of bitter experiences we had in the past with a number of international institutions," said the deputy foreign minister, adding:

"We could not abandon our stand that the OSCE must abide by certain procedures according to previously established parameters. Our stand was finally accepted and we can say we are satisfied."

The RS deputy foreign minister said that the Vienna talks also "dealt with the part of the Dayton agreement referring to confidence-building measures in order to shed light on the intentions of the RS and Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation Armed Forces and thus contribute to the prevention of new clashes."

OSCE representatives proposed that one member of the inspection team should come from Turkey, which the RS delegation rejected, explaining it by Ankara's hostile attitude to the RS over the past years.

"The signature on the document was put by representatives of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation and the RS. We did not sign anything with the bodies of the so-called Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, because — according to Annex 4 of the Dayton agreement — defense and army are not within the competence of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

"This is within the competence of the two entities and we will implement all these measures only through dialogue with the Federation," said Lukic, adding that only the Serb Republic and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation have the armed forces.

He specified that armament was not the topic of discussion, as claimed by some foreign media, and that talks on the possible restriction of armament — which includes the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Croatia — will be conducted at a later date.

The talks on Article 4 of Annex 1b of the Dayton agreement on regional stabilization — in which the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Croatia are included — will take place on Tuesday, 30 January.

Information on armed forces and five types of armament will be exchanged at the meeting and all the sides will be given preliminary draft documents on these issues.

Lukic announced that the talks would last one day and would resume on 14 February. They would continue to be held periodically until June, when the signing of the final agreement is expected.

B-H: Izetbegovic Proposes U.S. Arbitratation Over Mostar

AU2601200796 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 26 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The problems in setting up the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation, the problem of Mostar and Sarajevo, the forthcoming elections, as well as the prospect of European Union aid to Bosnia-Herzegovina were the main topics of the talks between Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, and EU High Commissioner Hans van den Broek.

The meeting was attended Ejup Ganic, member of the state Presidency and vice president of the Federation, and Presidency members Mirko Pejanovic and Stjepan Kljuic.

After the talks Mr. van den Broek and President Izetbegovic made statements for the reporters:

[Begin van den Broek recording, in English with superimposed translation into Serbo-Croatian] The European Union and the European Commission are investing great efforts to help the Bosnia-Herzegovina Government in the creation and maintenance of peace — a true peace for all peoples, Hans van den Broek stated after today's meeting. He added that the European Commission bureau was also opened in Sarajevo to improve the standards of living of the Sarajevans. In connection with this, the $80 million aid can be expected soon. With this money we will try to help, first of all in the urgent cases that mostly involve normalization of the functioning of the town, schools and hospitals, the repair of houses, the resumption of transport and communications, and so forth, van den Broek said.

We also discussed the political situation, placing a special emphasis on the development of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation, the beginning of cooperation with the Serbian entity, and the question of Sarajevo and Mostar. [end recording]

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[Begin Izetbegovic recording] Today we were visited by our good friend, Mr. van den Broek, who has supported Bosnia-Herzegovina from the very beginning. I took this opportunity to thank him for the support. We discussed a great variety of issues, the problem of the existence of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation, the problems connected with Mostar and Sarajevo, the future reconstruction, the issues linked to the elections, and ultimately, the aid and the support of the European Union to Bosnia-Herzegovina.

As regards Mostar, I suggested that Mr. Robert Owen also be included in the arbitration for Mostar apart from Mr. Koschnick and that the two of them also arbitrate in the question of the entire Mostar canton.

Speaking about the Federation, as you know, I informed Mr. van den Broek that we have encountered a whole lot of positive moments that we expect in the implementation of the Federation, especially the recently proclaimed disbanding of Herzeg-Bosnia. We, of course, still do not know the scope of this decision; however, the announcement has been made. Next week we will witness a definitive inauguration of the federal government in the parliament, to be followed by these two arbitrations on Mostar and the canton, which represented a threat for the constitution of the Federation. We hope that these four events will help the Federation finally to get on its feet. Naturally, we have reasons to be cautious, bearing in mind that numerous such earlier expectations were betrayed.

Finally, since Mr. van den Broek showed interest in the realization of the part of the agreement pertaining to the liberation of prisoners, I told him that we will decide on this issue probably in the course of today. [end recording]

B-H: Silajdzic Says 'United Bosnia' Depends on Mostar

AU2601204796 Paris AFP in English 1804 GMT 26 Jan 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Jan 26 (AFP) — Outgoing Bosnian premier Haris Silajdzic has warned that Bosnia's troubled Moslem-Croat Federation will explode if the two sides fail to surmount bitter differences and reunite the key city of Mostar.

"If Mostar remains divided, Bosnia will be for ever, because a divided Mostar means a united Bosnia is impossible," Silajdzic said in an interview published in the independent VREME weekly.

The southern city was the theatre of appalling violence during a year-long bloody war between Moslems and Croats from May 1993 to March 1994.

Reunification of Mostar, currently under European Union administration, is considered the cornerstone of Bosnia's post-war institutions enshrined in the U.S.-brokered Dayton peace accords signed in Paris last month.

"The reintegration of Bosnia-Herzegovina will not be possible if there is not an agreement within the federation on this question and if we continue to talk and do nothing," he warned.

Silajdzic criticized Mostar's EU administrator Hans Koschnik, arguing that by saying he could do nothing, Koschnik was "giving succour to those who want to divide Mostar."

"I told him (Koschnik) that he should simply resign and thus launch a process whose result would be the re nification of the city," Silajdiz said.

Silajdzic favours a strong central government for the new-look Bosnian state, which is to comprise a Croat-Moslem federation and a Serb republic under the terms of the Dayton accords.

He quit the premiership last weekend over the issue.

B-H: Silajdzic on 'Greater Croatia,' Division of Mostar

LD2701122596 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1133 GMT 27 Jan 96

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Jan 27 (TANJUG) — Outgoing Prime Minister of the Sarajevo Muslim government Haris Silajdzic said that the concept of a greater Croatia was still strong in Bosnia-Herzegovina which is why 'part of this republic resembles Croatia'.

'If you travel from Croatia towards Mostar you will see no differences, from uniforms, flags, emblems to the currency. It all resembles a greater Croatia and it is time we spoke about this openly,' Silajdzic said in an interview to the VREME weekly Saturday edition.

Silajdzic said these facts should not be overlooked and that doing so would jeopardise the Muslim-Croat Federation.

Concerning the part of the Dayton agreement regulating relations in the Muslim-Croat Federation Silajdzic said that it had been agreed already in Washington for it to be a 'federation of cantons'.

'I am opposed to a federation of national areas and territories because if this had been under consideration we could have immediately come to an agreement with the Belgrade regime and remained on the 20 percent of

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the territory that is now under the control of our army,' Silajdzic said.

He said that despite the Dayton agreeement the situation in the southern Bosnian town of Mostar, which is divided between Muslims and Croats, was extremely complicated.

'The division of Mostar would lead to a final division in Bosnia, a division of Mostar would mean that the reintegration of Bosnia- Herzegovina was impossible', Silajdzic told VREME.

B-H: Karadzic Decrees Release of All Prisoners of War

LD2701201596 Pale Srpska Televizija in Serbo-Croatian 1920 GMT 27 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] This evening in Pale, Dr. Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serb Republic, passed a decision on the unilateral release of all prisoners of war from prisons on the territory of the Serb Republic, SRNA has learned from the press office.

All prisoners held in prisons of the Serb Republic are being released with the aim of securing the consistent and full implementation of the [Dayton] agreement in former Bosnia-Herzegovina and the release of all Serb prisoners held by the Muslim side. This was pointed out in explanation of the decision made by the president of the Serb Republic on the basis of his constitutional powers and provisions of the Dayton Agreement.

B-H: Serbs' Bulajic Confirms All POW's To Be Released

LD2801112696 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1045 GMT 28 Jan 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Jan 28 (TANJUG) — The Croatian authorities have released 127 Serbs from the prison in Mostar and the Muslim authorities 78, Chairman of the Republika Srpska (RS) state commission for the exchange Dragan Bulajic said.

The RS news agency SRNA reported that the released Serbs were brought to the Sarajevo airport from the prison in Mostar, where they were held by Croats and from Tarcin, south of Sarajevo, Vares in central Bosnia and Sarajevo itself where they were held by the Muslims.

Bulajic said Saturday that for unknown reasons Croats had not released another 50 Serbs from the prison in Mostar and that Muslims were still holding two Serbs in the central prison in Sarajevo.

He confirmed that all prisoners of war would be released from the territory of Republika Srpska Sunday.

In keeping with RS President Radovan Karadzic's order 11 Croat POW's from Banja Luka, western RS, have been taken to the separation line near Bocac.

The conflicting sides in Bosnia-Herzegovina agreed on Saturday to observe all agreements reached between them and to continue with the prisoner release which had been delayed several times.

According to the Bosnia peace accord the release of prisoners was to have been completed on January 19.

B-H: Muslims, Serbs Release Prisoners, Civilians 27 Jan

LD2701204496 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1949 GMT 27 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Banja Luka, 27 Jan (TANJUG) — Both the Muslim and the Serb sides today released their prisoners of war at the IFOR [Implementation Force] checkpoint in the village of Koprivna, 6 km north of Sanski Most, on the road to Prijedor.

A group of 111 soldiers of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic Army was released from Muslim prisons in Travnik and Bihac and they crossed into the territory of the Serb Republic late this afternoon.

In addition to this group of prisoners of war, 155 [Serb] civilians from [Bosanski] Petrovac, Kljuc, Bihac, Sanski Most, and [Bosanska] Krupa Na Uni also crossed over to the territory of the Serb Republic. A group of 176 Muslim civilians crossed from the Serb to the Muslim side. [passage omitted]

B-H: Serbs Release 74 POW's at Sarajevo Airport 28 Jan

AU2801155196 Paris AFP in English 1532 GMT 28 Jan 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Jan 28 (AFP) — Bosnian Serbs released 74 of their prisoners of war at Sarajevo airport Sunday [28 January] as the final phase of POW liberations appeared to be taking place, officials at the airport said.

The POWs were released from a prison in Foca, 40 kilometres (24 miles) southeast of Sarajevo. The Serbs kept three Bosnian prisoners in Foca as suspects on war crimes charges, Dragan Bulajic, of the Serb prisoner exchange commission, told AFP at the airport.

The Serbs need to release 140 (EDS: correct) Bosnian POWs to comply with the Dayton peace accord that ended Bosnia's nearly four-year war.

The Serbs were also due to release some 60 POWs in the northern Banja Luka region.

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The mainly Moslem Bosnian Government was to release its last prisoners from the war on Sunday, 70 from Travnik prison in central Bosnia at Koprivna near Sanski Most in northern Bosnia and five from the eastern Moslem enclave of Gorazde at the village of Kopaci.

Bosnia's factions had only some 200 prisoners of war to free Sunday to belatedly comply with the Dayton accord and keep the peace process on track.

The three former warring factions released 380 prisoners Saturday, adding to the 217 set free January 19, when the deadline for full release of all POWs fell, and only had 215 still detained according to ICRC monitoring, ICRC spokesman Pierre Gauthier said. These were 75 held by the mainly Moslem Bosnian Government and 140 by Serbs.

Gauthier said the factions had the right to detain beyond the January 19 deadline prisoners suspected of war crimes.

B-H: Group of 76 Serb Prisoners Released From Muslim Prison

LD2801173296 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1636 GMT 28 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Banja Luka, 28 Jan — A group of 76 Serb prisoners from the Muslim prison in Dolac near Travnik was released today, SRNA reported.

With the mediation of IFOR [Implementation Force] and the International Committee of the Red Cross, the Serb captives were taken to Koprivna near Sanski Most, where they were handed over to representatives of the Serb Republic's commission for exchange at 1400. [passage omitted]

B-H: Serb Official: All Muslim, Croat POW's Released

LD2801175296 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 28 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 28 Jan — The Serb Republic today released all POW's, SRNA has reported.

Serb Republic representatives released 76 POW's from Srbinje and nine POW's from Vlasenica at Sarajevo airport at 1615 [1515 GMT].

According to SRNA, the Serb Republic has thus fulfilled all its obligations from the Dayton agreement regarding the release of POW's.

Dragan Bulajic, chairman of the Serb Republic commission for POW exchange, confirmed that all POW's — members of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the Croat Defense Council who had been held in Serb prisons — were released.

Bulajic stressed that the Muslim side had not fully complied with provisions of the Dayton agreement, because there are still at least 200 Serbs held in the prison in Tuzla, around 50 in Travnik, at least five in Zenica and at least four in Sarajevo.

In response to the objection raised by Amor Masovic, chairman of the Muslim commission, that three prisoners of war had not been released, Bulajic specified that they were war criminals and that an investigation was under way, SRNA reports.

B-H: Serbs' Bulajic: 200 Serbs Still Held in Croatia

LD2801211496 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 2027 GMT 28 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Sarajevo, 28 Jan (SRNA) — Dragan Bulajic, head of the Serb Republic's state commission for the exchange of prisoners, said that today's unilateral release of the prisoners of war belonging to the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the HVO [Croatian Defense Council] means that the Serb Republic is the only side that has carried out all obligations under the Dayton agreement. [passage omitted]

Bulajic said that the Croat side has committed a grave violation of the Dayton agreement by keeping 50 Serbs in the Rodoc prison. We released the HVO soldiers, but we are keeping a number of soldiers of the Croatian Army. We will solve this problem when the release of 200 of our soldiers imprisoned in Croatia is certain, Bulajic said. [passage omitted]

B-H: Bosnians, Serbs Still Holding 112 POW's

AU2901130896 Paris AFP in English 1241 GMT 29 Jan 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Jan 29 (AFP) — The Bosnian Government and rebel Serbs were Monday still holding more than 100 prisoners, half of them suspected war criminals, aid officials said, as problems remained in honoring the Dayton peace accord.

The three former warring Bosnian factions released over 500 prisoners of war over the weekend in a rush to belatedly comply with the Dayton accord and keep the peace process on track.

The international community has linked reconstruction aid to compliance with the Dayton accord that ended in December Bosnia's nearly four-year war.

The mainly Moslem Bosnian government and Serbs are still holding 112 POW's, with 63 of them under investigation for war crimes, International Committee

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of the Red Cross (ICRC) spokesman Beat Schweitzer said.

The Dayton accord allows the factions to detain war crimes suspects.

Schweitzer said the factions would, however, have to present the evidence against these people to the International Criminal Tribunal in the Hague which is investigating war crimes in the former Yugoslavia.

Western sources here said the factions may be using the war crimes charges as a loophole in the accord to hold POW's for further bargaining. Paying for prisoner releases is a tradition in the Balkans, they said.

The Dayton deadline for full prisoner releases expired January 19, but by that time only 217 POW's had been released.

Some 50 Serbs are being held by Croats in connection with the war crimes probe; three Croats and seven Serbs are held by the Bosnians and three Moslems are held by the Serbs for the same reason.

Four Arabs are being detained by Croats in the southern city of Mostar.

Schweitzer said the others still detained, 39 by Serbs in the northern region of Banja Luka and six by the Bosnians in the eastern Moslem enclave of Gorazde, might be released Monday.

But he said the ICRC wanted to investigate a prison in Tuzla where it had reports the Bosnians were holding scores of Serbs. Schweitzer said the Dayton agreement gave the ICRC the right to monitor all prisons.

B-H: Serbs' Krajisnik, U.S. Envoy Discuss Elections

LD2701213096 Pale Srpska Televizija in Serbo-Croatian 1930 GMT 27 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Momcilo Krajisnik, speaker of the People's Assembly of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic [RS], met U.S. Ambassador Robert Frowick, the head of the U.S. mission to the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe [OSCE], in Pale today. They discussed the implementation of the civilian issues under the Dayton agreement.

The meeting discussed the implementation of the Dayton agreement and specifically the segment on future elections. Following one hour of talks, which were held behind closed doors, the RS parliamentary speaker made the following statement:

[Begin Krajisnik recording] We drew attention to certain problems regarding the upcoming elections, and we asked his excellency to establish better links so that we can be promptly informed and that we should tackle the issue of Sarajevo. Understanding of this issue [of Sarajevo] was expressed, and I can thank his excellency. I will always gladly make maximum efforts to assist this very humane task. We know that this is very difficult. I told him that the Serbs love three things, three supreme values: state, liberty, and democracy. This is the issue of democracy. We would be glad to see the best people winning the elections, that the elections are held at the right time, and we have nothing against the elections being held as soon as possible if there is justification, then we want to know the election date as soon as possible. [sentence as heard]

[Frowick, in English with superimposed translation into Serbo-Croatian] We had a very constructive discussion today about the issues that concern the OSCE mission for Bosnia-Herzegovina. In particular, we talked about progress, for example, in organizing the electoral process. We also talked about progress in reaching regional stabilization. We also talked about issues that were concluded yesterday, the security-building measures. I also hope that we will continue joint cooperation without problems. [end recording]

This is the second meeting between RS speaker Momcilo Krajisnik and Robert Frowick. It was agreed that they would continue to cooperate on issues regarding the elections.

B-H: Serbs' Koljevic Against Postponement of Elections

LD2801164496 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1527 GMT 28 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Kragujevac, 28 Jan (TANJUG) — Nikola Koljevic, the vice president of the Bosnian Serb Republic, said today that the elections in Bosnia-Herzegovina should not be postponed.

"The post-war and, I would say, anti-war atmosphere is taking a firmer hold every day, and the elections should not be postponed because of the simple reason that the existence of double or triple authorities, as well as the internal circumstances, force us to set out legal norms and forms of cooperation at peacetime," Koljevic told Radio Kragujevac.

Stressing that even economic problems are easier to solve in peacetime, Koljevic said that very ambitious joint venture companies with Greek partners were already being set up in the Serb Republic.

Taking part in "The Hallmark of Time" program, Koljevic announced the arrival in the Serb Republic of UN human rights rapporteur Elisabeth Rhen. He stressed that she will be granted access to all sites she wishes to visit.

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B-H: Sarajevo TV Interviews Bosnian Serb PM Kasagic

LD2601202996 Sarajevo Televizija Bosne i Hercegovine in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 26 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The end of the media war and the breach of the media blockade were topics of several meetings between representatives of the Federation and the Serb entity with Carl Bildt and his aides over the past few days. Bosnia-Herzegovina TV is taking another step in this direction in its evening news bulletin tonight. That is, our colleague Verica Kalajdzic interviewed Rajko Kasagic, the prime minister of the Serb entity, in Sarajevo today.

[Begin recording] [Kalajdzic] What will you do about the issue of war criminals? Are you going to honor the agreements under [words indistinct]?

[Kasagic] Crimes, if they were committed by both sides against the Geneva Convention, against the international law governing warfare, then I believe that individuals should be made to account for them.

[Kalajdzic] Can you tell us when the Serb Republic will supply lists of people who have disappeared or have been imprisoned?

[Kasagic] I believe that we shall unilaterally release all prisoners as soon as today. At least we have agreed to announce the unilateral release of prisoners, and that IFOR [Implementation Force] should put pressure on the other side to release prisoners. Regarding people who have disappeared, this is a separate issue.

[Kalajdzic] Please tell us when you will pass an amnesty bill. We have already done it.

[Kasagic] This is our obligation. We have agreed, at a meeting with Carl Bildt, to do this. The government will set this in motion very soon.

[Kalajdzic] What can you as prime minister do to stop the media war?

[Kasagic] A meeting between ministers of the Serb Republic and ministers in the Bosnia-Herzegovina Government was held yesterday. I believe that it was agreed, then, to bring an end to the media war. This is also an obligation under the Dayton agreement.

[Kalajdzic] Regarding the Dayton agreement, tell me what you will do about the transfer of power in Sarajevo. Here I have in mind the parts of Sarajevo which, according to the Dayton agreement, will become a part of the Federation.

[Kasagic] There is a lot of activity regarding this. Commissions of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Serb Republic are working on this. Attempts are being made to build confidence. As far as I know, it has been agreed that IFOR members, Serbs, and Muslims will make up a police force. This should provide some sort of safety guarantees. [end recording]

B-H: Karadzic: World Wants To 'Drown' Bosnian Serbs

LD2701231996 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 2145 GMT 27 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 27 Jan (SRNA) — Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serb Republic, received a delegation of Russian writers and journalists in Pale this evening. He informed them about the implementation of the Dayton agreement and the current situation in the Serb Republic.

"The guests from Russia expressed interest in the international community's treatment of the Serb people, especially in relation to the Croat-Muslim entity," Karadzic told SRNA after the meeting.

According to him, the Russian delegation showed readiness to establish cultural and spiritual cooperation, as well as to send humanitarian aid to the Serb Republic.

During the meeting, the Serb Republic president informed the Russian journalists and writers about the chronology of creating the Serb Republic, stressing the problems which arose from the uneven approach of the international community, the United Nations, and NATO.

"At the expense of weakening the Serb entity, the international community is trying to strengthen the Muslim-Croat Federation at any cost, and to drown the Serb Republic in the common state of Muslims and Croats," Karadzic said.

According to him, the Serb people will resist these attempts by the international community with its spiritual strength and by educating young generations in the spirit of the Orthodox religion."

Speaking about differences between the opposing religions in the territory of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Serb Republic president told the guests from Russia that "the Serb people do not want to enforce the expansion of the Orthodox religion, but want to see the return to the original roots which have helped them survive over the centuries." [passage indistinct]

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B-H: Commentary Examines Pressures on Sarajevo Serbs

AU2901101496 Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE (Bosnian) in Serbo-Croatian 25 Jan 96 p 8

[Commentary by Zija Dizdarevic: "Seriously Endangered"]

[FBIS Translated Text] A long-term poisoning of souls and distorting consciousness has brought many Serbs into insane situations. For instance, in the Sarajevsko polje some Serbs have been digging out the graves of their closest relatives and taking their mortal remains God knows where.

Those who have recently visited the area of Sarajevo, which is still under the control of the Pale junta, testify that the majority of indigenous Serbs want to stay. However, diverse methods have been used to make them leave. Karadzic and other manipulators are still able to rule the destinies of their fellow-countrymen, on whom they inflicted so much evil. They need them now as a human shield.

Belgrade Instead of Pale

Foreign observers were recently present at a meeting of several hundred Serbs on Grbavica. They gathered in order to see what to do. The rumors say that, first of all, confusion ruled that meeting. Many Serbs from that part of town bear no guilt on their souls, and a large number of these had been helping the Bosniaks and Croats living there. However, perplexed by the psychological and propaganda pressures, they feel lost, like the people who do not belong anywhere.

Karadzic and his company's most recent blackmail of the Serbs in the Sarajevo region is presented in the demand to put them on the lists for the approaching elections. If they do so, they can stay in their homes, if they explicitly refuse, they should leave.

Sarajevo is, in fact, the last line of defense for Karadzic and other war criminals. The information that the Belgrade regime, except for the region of Banja Luka, has managed to put eastern Bosnia under its political control, speaks for that. So, the place grows tighter and tighter for Karadzic and the others. However, it is not a cause to celebrate for us, either, that Belgrade, rather than Pale, has established control over almost half of Bosnia- Herzegovina.

Distinguished politicians have accepted the thesis of the Serbs being endangered again, this time in the region of Sarajevo. The President of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Alija Izetbegovic, had to warn even the U.S. President Bill Clinton in Tuzla about some very important things. That is, a justified request for guarantees for the Serbs who want to stay in their homes should be accompanied by insisting on the realization of the rights of Bosniaks and Croats to stay in their homes, that is, to get back to their houses and property.

Karl Bildt and his team, as well as some other western mediators, have directed their activity mainly toward the establishment of communications between the Serbs in the region of Sarajevo, and realization of contacts of the authorities of Bosnia-Herzegovina with the representatives of the Serb Republic. Chairman of the Executive Council of "Serb Sarajevo," Maksim Stanisic, has walked through a part of the center of the capital without being disturbed. Metropolitan Bishop Nikolaj has in complete safety held a liturgy on the occasion of the Orthodox Christmas at the Old Orthodox church in the middle of Bascarsija. For half an hour he talked to Prime Minister Dr. Haris Silajdzic. This tells a lot about Sarajevo and the Bosniaks. Can we expect something similar from the other side?

Story About Constitutionality

After signing the Peace Agreement, the Serb Civic Council [SGV], headed by Dr. Mirko Pejanovic, developed their activity in three directions. One of these is the activity directed at the state organs, which has, beside other things, assisted from outside, brought about the adoption of the Declaration of Amnesty, which should develop into a law. The second direction is the drive by international factors to work toward the largest possible number of Serbs staying in the territory of Sarajevo. In the end, there is also the independent endeavor of the SGV to establish a direct dialogue with some personalities from the Serb Republic. The SGV representatives have already on two occasions met with the Serbs in the broader region of Sarajevo.

The SGV has been trying to develop political action and realize influence in the Serb Republic. Simultaneously, it tries to ensure that as many Serbs as possible remain in the Sarajevo region. For among the Serbs in Sarajevo and the Federation, fear for their position has started to appear. It is possible that this fear may develop into a thesis on the Serbs' being endangered in the territory of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. However, the main danger to the Serbs from the Serb Republic has been, as throughout the war, from the Serb ultranationalists.

In order to restore mutual trust among the nations and stimulate a democratic atmosphere in our country, it would be valuable if the most distinguished Serbs were to very definitely explain their stand on what has happened. Differentiation among the Serbs based upon

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that is necessary. In the end, the Serbs who have died as the victims of Serb nazi-fascism should be paid public honor. Toward that, the SGV can do a lot.

More than a year ago, the SGV sent an amendment to the Constituent Assembly of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, by which the Serbs would be recognized, apart from the Bosniaks and Croats, as a constitutional nation in the Federation. There is a legal and historical logic to this. This initiative has again been discussed. However, meanwhile, for no good historical or ethnic reason, the existence of the creation of the Serb Republic has been recognized. The constitutionality of the Serb nation in the state of Bosnia-Herzegovina has been used up by that, has it not?

Present provisions of the Constitution of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which has not been disputed by the constitutional principles from the Peace Agreement, treat Bosniaks, Serbs, and Croats as equal, so, equally constitutional. But, establishing the Serbs as a constitutional nation in the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which is in no way a bad option, would mean that such a constitutional position would be provided reciprocally for the Bosniaks and Croats in the Serb Republic. Is that possible?

Of course, it is the undisputable right of the Serbs, who, like patriots and loyal citizens remained living in the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, to struggle for a better political and any other position. However, one must understand that the status of the Serbs in the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina will be influenced by the degree of democracy in the Serb Republic.

B-H: Serb Officer Details Massacres, Mass Graves

AU2901122996 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 29 Jan 96 pp 118-120

[Unattributed report: "Murders in the Night"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Nearly every day, the investigators of the War Crimes Tribunal in The Hague are discovering new traces of atrocities — in the mine of Ljubija, for example — where victims of massacres have probably been buried. DER SPIEGEL has obtained a statement by a Serb officer who belonged to Karadzic's circles. The statement has been confirmed by other witnesses. Here is his report:

Fear spread after the signing of the peace agreement. The political leadership of the Bosnian Serbs in Pale panicked. Controls were tighter than ever before. No deputy or functionary was allowed to leave the Serb Republic in Bosnia without the permission of Radovan Karadzic or his military commander in chief, General Ratko Mladic. Yet numerous politicians made preparations for their escape, for which they had saved huge sums — the proceeds from smuggling or black market deals.

They were all afraid of the investigators of the War Crimes Tribunal in The Hague, who are looking for mass graves in Bosnia. The UN inspectors have not yet discovered the worst sites. In fact, the Ljubija mine is only one of the places where victims of massacres can be found. Some 300 bodies have been buried in Ljubija. In the nearby mines of Omarska and Tomasica, there are at least 10,000. The uncertainty regarding the exact location apparently results from the fact that the three mines are situated close to each other.

Approximately 7 km from the village of Omarska, there is the so-called Omarska mine. Once one has passed the guarded gates, one travels for 1 or 2 km through a nearly idyllic area. Then one arrives at the former buildings of the mine: administrative buildings, a tool store, truck garages, and other buildings.

Here, the notorious Omarska camp was established in 1992 — an ideal hiding place because only informed persons were granted access. It was the first prison camp in the Bosnian war, guarded by criminals who were freed from the prisons at the beginning of the war and who received uniforms of the Yugoslav Army — an idea of which both Karadzic, his deputy Nikola Koljevic, and assembly chairman Moncilo Krajisnik were proud.

The Muslims from the towns of Kozarac, Bosanski Novi, Sanski Most, and Prijedor and the surrounding villages were transported to the Omarska death camp. Kozarac alone had about 20,000 inhabitants at the beginning of the war. When the town was captured by the Serbs, over 1,000 people lost their lives.

Since Kozarac was completely encircled, only a few succeeded in escaping. The survivors were taken to the Omarska camp, which was located about 20 km away: This was the beginning of the massacres in Bosnia.

The path leading through the area where the mine is situated is over 10 meters wide. After 4 km in the generally flat region, approximately 100-meter high hills rise on both sides of the road, where the ore is being extracted. Only surface mining is carried out here. First the earth is removed and piled up in artificial hills of about 50 meters height. Many of them are already overgrown with grass.

The truth is that many of these overburden dumps are mass graves. Since the end of May 1992, during two and a half months, 50 to 150 prisoners were loaded onto trucks and transported about 7 km to a flat site within the area of the mine every night. There they were immediately shot dead. Before the end of the night,

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diggers and trucks covered the corpses with debris from the mine. Most of the dead are lying under the freshly formed earth mounds in an are of 2 square kilometers.

If the UN investigators want to find these mass graves, they only need to examine the dumps that were established after 1992. And they must begin their search directly along the path leading through the land surrounding the mine. Some 8,000 bodies have been buried at the site of the Omarska ore mine.

When in 1992, upon public pressure, the Serb leaders in Pale permitted journalists to visit to Omarska camp, Officer Boza Novak of the air force had to remove all the traces of the atrocities during the night before the journalists' arrival. I remember well how angry he was that the guards themselves did not carry out this task. Even mattresses and beds were hastily provided for the prisoners. Prisoners who were in a particularly bad state were either transported to other camps or simply disappeared.

Later, when the Omarska camp was overcrowded, only draft-age men remained there. Women, children, and old people were taken to the nearby mine of Tomasica, which is about 7 km farther to the southwest. Up to 150 Muslims were buried there every day under the rubble dumps.

In addition, the prisoners were completely at the mercy of their guards. No guard has ever had to give account of a murder to his superiors. In Tomasica, the Serbs raped women and girls all the time. I believe that several thousand bodies are also buried on the site of the Tomasica mine.

In the summer of the same year, the Serb leaders ordered a search for more sites where they could dispose of the Muslims. Thus, a hidden gorge near Vitovlje in the Vlasic mountains became the site of new massacres. It is located approximately 120 km from Omarska. One arrives there via Banja Luka in the direction of Jajce. When one crosses the Vrbas River, before the Bocac hydroelectric power plant, a turning on the left-hand side leads over a bridge to Skender Vakuf. From there, one reaches the Vlasic mountains, where a ski jump used to exist.

Behind the village, a small road leads to the village of Vitrovlje, where the road ends. Behind the village, the massif of the Vlasic mountains, which is partly treeless and partly wooded, rises. At a distance of no more than 10 km from the village, there is a plateau that can only be reached on foot or with military vehicles. On the fringe of the plateau, the rock face dips steeply into a gorge of about 100 to 150 meter depth.

Some 3,000 Muslims were transported there between 10 July 1992 and the beginning of August. They came from camps or were arrested in towns. They had to line up along the gorge and plunged, riddled with bullets from submachineguns, into the abyss. The commanders of the 22d Knezevska Brigade, Colonel T. and Colonel P. (footnote: names known to the editors) were responsible for these massacres. Both officers are still active in our army today.

At present, the land is covered with snow, but in the spring, the investigators of The Hague will make a horrible discovery.

Gen. Mladic only arrived at the end of 1992 when the Yugoslav Army withdrew from Bosnia and when an army of Bosnian Serbs was formed. His arrival did not change anything. The killing continued unabated. As recently as last year, he personally ordered the seizure of the UN protection zone of Srebrenica. He knew exactly what happened to the civilians afterward.

Apart from Omarska, there was another ill-famed death camp in Manjaca, situated about 30 km from Banja Luka. Croatians and Muslims from Kljuc and Jajce and from other towns in the region were imprisoned there.

Karadzic systematically spread fear of Manjaca. His secret service launched reports claiming that nobody would return alive from there. The entire population was intimidated with the threat "Manjaca," and all resistance against Karadzic was stifled.

The Manjaca area includes an enormous site of 50 square kilometers, consisting of a nearly impenetrable forest where wolves and bears used to live before the war. Even hunters avoid this area. At least 1,500 dead can be found in the forests and lakes there.

It is clear that the orders for the establishment of the camps and for the killings and tortures came from Karadzic. Several times I, myself, heard him ordering officers to kill as many Muslims as possible. One sentence that Karadzic liked to use was: Now the Muslims have to pay for their crimes. They had to be killed whenever there was an opportunity — until they would be completely extinguished.

Even the promotion of officers depended on the murder of as many Muslims as possible. In 1994, at a ceremony for the late politician Jovan Raskovic, I was standing next to Deputy Srdic and two colleagues and saw Karadzic's aide Velibor Ostojic approaching them. He promised an early reward on behalf of Karadzic. They were the only ones who had killed enough Muslims and had not disappointed the Serb leader. Karadzic accused the mayor of Banja Luka of not succeeded in ethnically cleansing Banja Luka.

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The generals were no less brutal than the political leadership. In the summer of 1993, after a visit to the former Jasenovac concentration camp, dating back to WWII, 10 generals celebrated in a restaurant in the nearly village of Mrakovica. Toward 1900, they were already quite drunk and quarreled about who had killed more Muslims.

General M. (footnote: name known to the editors) provoked one of the comrades present, calling him Karadzic's arse-licker. He himself, however, had killed 5,000 Muslims in this war and was therefore a real hero, M. boasted. His rival countered: This is nothing, his men killed twice as many.

In the past one and a half years, numerous ordinary soldiers deserted because they had realized a long time ago that it was no longer the struggle for the home country that was in the foreground, but the gains of the war profiteers and political intrigues.

Karadzic himself is one of the major profiteers. He owes his wealth, among other things, to Croatian President Franjo Tudjman, with whom he often held secret talks. When the government troops were increasingly successful against the Bosnian Croatians in 1994, Karadzic and Tudjman concluded an agreement: The Serb leader helped the oppressed Croatians with his own troops and weapons — for money.

In addition, Karadzic earned money in the smuggling of gasoline, cigarettes, and coffee. With the help of the Yugoslav Red Cross, these goods, but also weapons and ammunition, reached Pale. The relief organization charged 5,000 German marks [DM] for every truck — no matter what it carried. According to the documents, "humanitarian aid" was involved. Later, UN observers were also bribed.

A specific example: The ammunition supplies of the Bosnian Serbs were nearly exhausted in June 1995. Karadzic's procurers travelled to rump Yugoslavia and received 650 metric tons of ammunition from General Chief of Staff Perisic personally. The ammunition was loaded onto a convoy of 25 trucks. Possessing the documents of the Red Cross, which identified the freight as medical supplies, the convoy crossed the Raca border crossing. The UN observer who was on duty that night received DM50,000 in cash.

However, apart from a few ammunitions supplies, Karadzic was relatively unfortunate among the Russians. They rejected his demands for missiles and his request for modern combat aircraft: Karadzic offered wheat in return and wanted to recruit Russian soldiers as mercenaries. I think he had lost all sense of reality at the end.

B-H: Zubak Calls Serb Republic, Federation 'Legal Reality'

AU2601201396 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 26 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] A Bosnia-Herzegovina delegation consisting of Federation President Kresimir Zubak and Federation Prime Minister-designate Izudin Kapetanovic met with the representatives of the Serb entity, Momcilo Krajisnik and Aleksa Buha today, ONASA [news agency] reports.

They discussed the problems regarding the civilian part of the peace agreement, the law on amnesty, the closure of prisons, the establishment of communication between the entities, and the resolution of Sarajevo's status.

I believe that we achieved consensus on many issues that are very significant for our future relations. The Serb Republic and the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina are a legal reality within whose context we should build the future, President Zubak said. According to him, the issue of Sarajevo is a special problem. Its resolution would help to improve future relations.

B-H: Federation President on POW's, Sarajevo Police

LD2701131896 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 2130 GMT 26 Jan 96

[Telephone interview with Kresimir Zubak, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation, by unidentified correspondent on 26 January; from the "Picture vs. Picture" program — live or recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Correspondent] At this moment we are talking to Kresimir Zubak, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation. Good evening, and welcome to "Picture vs. Picture."

[Zubak] Good evening.

[Correspondent] Mr. Zubak, you were in Pale today, for the first time since the beginning of the war, if I am not mistaken.

[Zubak] Yes, you are right. For the first time.

[Correspondent] What were the main themes for discussion, and with whom did you have the talks? [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] What could change on both sides in Bosnia-Herzegovina, in the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation and the Serb Republic, after this meeting, and by when?

[Zubak] [passage omitted] The talks themselves lasted for more than two and a half hours, as I said. Our

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joint conclusion was that we needed to establish regular communication and have regular meetings at the highest level so that all of these, and many other issues that are equally relevant and complex, might be resolved more successfully. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] Mr. Zubak, prisoners of the first, second, and third side should have been released a week ago but that did not happen. How many Croats are still in the hands of the Bosnian Serbs?

[Zubak] According to our lists, there are still 35 Croats in prisons under the Serb Republic's control.

[Correspondent] Have you achieved any improvement with reference to this issue, perhaps a bilateral improvement?

[Zubak] Yes, today there should have been a meeting at Sarajevo airport to resolve this issue at last. But the Croat representative was prevented from attending for objective reasons, so today we reached an agreement, and we believe it to be a definitive one. Mr. Krajisnik gave his firm word...[pauses] Earlier we were prepared to release immediately all Serbs from prisons under our control. He [Krajisnik] promised that he would also give orders, unconditionally, for all Croats in the Serb Republic prisons to be released. I expect this to be carried out tomorrow [27 January].

[Correspondent] The exchange is to be carried out tomorrow?

[Zubak] Yes.

[Correspondent] What was achieved with regard to communications? Will some roads be opened? Will there be a free movement of commodities and people? Also, when?

[Zubak] You see, this is a very complex issue, and as I was told, there is an interest on their [Bosnian Serb] side to renew some forms of communication, but they believe that first some — in their opinion — big political issues have to be resolved. For them a big political issue is the issue of the administration of Sarajevo.

[Correspondent] What did they demand?

[Zubak] They want the city of Sarajevo, or the area of Sarajevo, to be administered in such a way that an adequate influence of Serbs who remain there is provided for, meaning primarily in the institutions of the government in the city. For the sake of the public, it should be said that the largest part of the city lies within the [Bosnia-Herzegovina] Federation now, and decisions on this should be made in the institutions of the federation government. However, we should bear in mind that it is also the capital of Bosnia-Herzegovina, so their request could be partly replied to [as heard, replicirati] by saying that their opinion regarding the organization, the political and legal organization of the city of Sarajevo administration, should be heard.

[Correspondent] Does this perhaps imply that the Serb police should stay in those municipalities?

[Zubak] Well, you see, even if the administration is organized according to the Federation's Constitution, the administration in the municipalities that have been under their control so far should be established on the basis of the latest election results. It would be in accordance with the Federation's Constitution if the police forces in these municipalities were based on the proportional and national structure of the inhabitants of these municipalities.

[Correspondent] What does this mean, whose majority is it then?

[Zubak] This would mean that the police force is under the control of the municipal authorities, which should be established in accordance with the federal Constitution, but there should be policemen of Serb nationality within this force. These would be federal police, so to speak, but a certain number of policemen should be of Serb nationality, in numbers proportional to the number of Serb inhabitants in these municipalities. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] If Alija Izetbegovic, vice president of the Federation, and other leaders of the Bosniak people are ready for such a step, how would you assess such a step [the use of Croatia's policemen] in Mostar and in the Federation?

[Zubak] This is a temporary solution. This police force should be a part of the forces that have already come to Mostar from other European countries. It should help strengthen mutual trust and contribute to greater security, in a psychological and in every other sense, in the area of Mostar. So I hope it will help tensions to relax and increase the degree of security. In this way the job of Mr. Koschnick and the European administration in Mostar will be facilitated, as will the successful fulfillment of their mandate by the end of June, when the European administration's mandate in Mostar ends.

B-H: HDZ Leader Explains Transfer of Herzeg-Bosnia

AU2601215496 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 26 Jan 96

[Report by Stevo Latinovic on news conference by Croatian Democratic Community of Bosnia-

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Herzegovina leaders in Sarajevo on 26 January — recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Latinovic] Reporters were addressed by Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ] president Bozo Rajic; however, also present were Vice President Srecko Vucina and Presidency members Jozo Leutar and Vladislav Pogarcic.

In this way we wished to promote our arrival in Sarajevo, where after Dayton the conditions for work had been created, Mr. Rajic said and then immediately placed himself at service to the present reporters. The first question referred to the gradual transfer of the Herzeg-Bosnia authorities to the Federation:

[Rajic] As a part of the implementation of the Dayton agreement, the way it had been defined, accepted, and backed by the international community, we passed a decision on gradual transfer of the executive powers of the Croatian Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia to the federal bodies set up in accordance with the Federation's constitution, in a manner that is synchronized with the pace of formation and operationalization of these offices of authority.

Let me explain. The first step that we succeeded in defining with the partner side — the Party of Democratic Action — to our satisfaction, and hopefully also the satisfaction of all people who live here, was the division of ministers' and deputy ministers' seats in the federal government and the republican government in the transitional period. Also, as most of you already know, we agreed that the constituent assembly and the assembly of the Republic in the transitional period will hold sessions on 30 January, when the two governments will be inaugurated. By this the first precondition for the realization of our political decision on gradual transfer of authority to the federal bodies, as they will be constituted, will be fulfilled.

You also know that numerous federal bodies have not been set up yet and that some reasons for their non-constitution still have not been removed. Here I am primarily referring to the cantonal authorities, where we must first reach a political agreement on the redefinition of the role, the position, the territorial setup, and the boundaries of cantons within the Federation. As these authorities will be established, as the municipal councils will be formed pursuant to the Federation's constitution and the agreement on the Federation's reanimation, we will gradually transfer the authority.

[Latinovic] Can we and when expect the beginning of functioning of opposition parties, which would also serve as a corrective mechanism to the ruling party on the territory controlled by the Croatian Defense Council [HVO]? Bozo Rajic is of the opinion that the opposition parties are not a corrective mechanism and are not necessary, but desirable. This is a matter of individuals and certain groups. He added:

[Rajic] On our territory there is not a single obstacle — when I say our territory I am referring to the territory of the Croatian Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia, that is, the territory controlled by the HVO — there never was nor is there any obstacle to the organization of the political life and accomplishment of the full political plurality of the society. The question for those who sport different political views is why have they not done it.

[Latinovic] Asked by a foreign reporter how he interpreted the statement by Mr. Brajkovic, the mayor of western Mostar, that Mostar should be the capital of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Croats, the reply was:

[Rajic] I do not know whether the gentleman understood the statement by Mr. Brajkovic correctly. In any case, Mr. Brajkovic himself can best comment on his statements. I will try nevertheless, however, I will distance myself from the statements of other people, because one can never know what a person means deep down when he is speaking. Mr. Brajkovic did not speak about any capital, but he spoke about the spiritual, political, economic, administrative, cultural, and [word indistinct] center of the Croatian people in Bosnia-Herzegovina, where the institutions of national importance could be concentrated, organized, and set up, and I perceive his statement in this light.

[Latinovic] Lately, the question of the constitutionality of the third nation has been increasingly more present:

[Rajic] In none of the stages of the Federation's establishment from Washington, Vienna, Split, Zagreb, and Petersburg, to Dayton and Paris, has there been any mention of the constitutionality of any other peoples except the following two — the Croatian and the Bosniak-Muslim. They constituted this Federation, [words indistinct] is simply a question of our attitude to the international conventions and standards. There can be no talk of constitutionality, because, had we done this we would bring into question the vital interests of the people whom we represent. [Word indistinct] constituent today or tomorrow in some new political arrangement of the Croats and the Bosniak-Muslims in the Serbian entity, then we can speak of this category. For the time being, these two peoples form the constituent elements of our Federation. As regards the rights, equality, participation in the authority in proportion to the situation in reality, and what is our duty, and even if nobody demanded this from us, as reasonable and politically enlightened people of the European orientation

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we would accept international, political and humanitarian standards [words indistinct]. [sentence as heard]

[Latinovic] Hans Koschnick will make an arbitrary decision about Mostar in a couple of days.

[Rajic] For HDZ and its leadership Mostar is in Dayton, which means an international arbitration as the final resort [sentence as heard]. For us this is unconditional, and we shall accept it.

[Latinovic] [passage omitted]

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Croatia: IFOR Commander, Army Chiefs Hold Talks

LD2601163796 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 26 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Brigadier General Dieter Schott, head of the IFOR [Implementation Force] center for cooperation and liaison with the Croatian army, met today in Osijek with the commanders of the Osijek military area. Amoreta Bajto reports:

[Unidentified correspondent] Brig Gen Dieter Schott, commander of the IFOR base in Split and head of the center for cooperation and liaison with the Croatian army, today visited Osijek where he met with Colonel-General Djuro Decak, commander of the Osijek military area, and deputy commander General Major Milivoj Petkovic.

Today's meeting is the continuation of successful cooperation between IFOR and the Croat army in the Osijek military zone, Brig Gen Dieter Schott and Gen Maj Milivoj Petkovic said in statements to the press after the meeting which was held behind closed doors.

Gen Schott informed his hosts about the present deployment of IFOR units and the plans for future arrivals. It was stressed that the Croatian army will cooperate and in no way hinder their work, which has been demonstrated by the cooperation accomplished so far.

It was agreed at today's meeting that the establishment of a coordinating body which would include representatives of IFOR, the Croatian army, and the civilian authorities, with its seat in Osijek and which would deal with current issues.

We shall attempt, Gen Maj Petkovic said, to bring into contact businessmen from Slavonija with IFOR officials so that local companies can provide supplies and services to the IFOR units.

After the meeting in Osijek, Brig Gen Dieter Schott and his aides will visit Vinkovci.

Croatia: Granic Wants Slavonia Peacefully Reintegrated

AU2901102896 Zagreb NACIONAL in Serbo-Croatian 19 Jan 96 pp 15-18

[Interview with Mate Granic, Croatian foreign minister and deputy prime minister, by Ivo Pukanic in Zagreb; date not given: "Dario Kordic Submitted His Resignation so as Not To Harm Croatian National Interests in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Croatia will Give Him Full Support in the Preparation of His Defense Before the Court!"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *The diplomatic activity of Mr. Mate Granic, Croatian foreign minister, did not cease even during the seven-day skiing vacation that he tried to spend with his family in Austria. He had to interrupt it twice, in order to meet President Clinton and Mr. Klaus Kinkel, the German foreign minister. The interview with Mr. Granic included a number of topics: UN resolutions on eastern Slavonia, Baranja, western Srijem, and Prevlaka, unrest in Mostar, problems with the Federation, the problem of missing persons and detainees, the Hague war crimes tribunal, his brother Goran....*

[Pukanic] How do you assess the latest UN Security Council resolution, adopted on 15 January 1996, about eastern Slavonia, Baranja, western Srijem, and Prevlaka?

[Granic] Croatia is pleased with the resolution. It participated in drawing it up together with the Contact Group, especially with the United States. The resolution confirms the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the Republic of Croatia, and it reduces the size of the peacekeeping force to 5,000, as proposed by Croatia, which is a guarantee that the demilitarization will be carried out within a month. There is one more very important thing: If there is resistance to demilitarization, the peacekeeping force may decide to leave. This is a completely new quality.

[Pukanic] Can you be more precise?

[Granic] General Klein is entitled to ask for IFOR support if he considers it necessary (as specified in paragraph 7 of the UN Security Council resolution) and he can decide that the peacekeeping force, both military and civilian personnel, will leave the area. In other words he has all civilian and military powers.

[Pukanic] Does IFOR support of the UN forces in the field include both ground and air support?

[Granic] Primarily air support, but if the peacekeeping force is endangered, it is up to the commander to decide what kind of help he will ask for.

[Pukanic] Is the resolution not imprecise regarding the beginning of demilitarization. Croatia had very bad experiences with time limits in previous resolutions; the agreement about eastern Slavonia was signed in November, but no progress has been made.

[Granic] I would not say that our experiences with the adoption of this resolution were negative. Admittedly, there were problems in the search for forces that were ready to come to the area; that was the reason the

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resolution was late. It will be determined during the next seven days which forces will come, and General Klein will send a letter to the UN secretary general after that in order to inform him that the operation has started.

[Pukanic] Was it not possible for Croatia to achieve that U.S. troops come to eastern Slavonia?

[Granic] Croatia did make that proposal, but it was difficult for the United States, or better said for President Clinton's administration, to gain Congress's consent to sending U.S. troops to Croatia after they were sent to Bosnia-Herzegovina. This was the basic problem, but the United States is therefore sending General Klein, who has been very carefully selected and in whom we have every confidence.

A Two-Month Term

[Pukanic] Why has Croatia agreed that Russian soldiers remain a part of the peacekeeping force in eastern Slavonia and Baranja, though Croatia has not had good experiences with them?

[Granic] It is true that we have not have good experiences with them, and it is also true that at least two of their former commanders even cooperated with rebels at one time, or to be more precise, they cooperated with war criminals such as Arkan. It must be mentioned, however, that we had very comprehensive talks with the Russians about the nature of their participation. Apart from that, we have succeeded in achieving that Belgium would be in charge of the operation, and a U.S. officer the commander of the peacekeeping force. Circumstances are completely different now. There is the basic agreement, and there is — for the first time — also a clear operational resolution. We talked with Mr. Kozyrev, the former Russian foreign minister, his deputy, various representatives, and minister's aides, and we told them what was expected of them now. Russian soldiers have remained because it is not easy to find forces that are ready to come and especially because the withdrawal of these troops and the arrival of others would make the operation more complicated. On the other hand, political representatives of the Russian Federation guarantee now that the behavior of Russian soldiers will strictly comply with the implementation of the agreement.

[Pukanic] They promised this before, too. What if this is not the case?

[Granic] Relations are different now. The powers of General Klein are very broad.

[Pukanic] In other words, you believe that the date of the international force arrival and other details in connection with the beginning of demilitarization will be determined in a week.

[Granic] No. Only the decision that forces will come will be adopted in a week. After that, the forces will have to come to the area, after a month approximately, and after they are deployed, General Klein will decide on the date on which demilitarization will begin.

[Pukanic] When, in your opinion, could the action begin?

[Granic] I cannot tell you precisely, but I believe that six weeks will pass, or two months at the most.

[Pukanic] Do you know who will be General Klein's closest assistants? Will there be Americans among them?

[Granic] General Klein will have at least 30 experts in various fields, but he has not mentioned any names yet. All practical details are being discussed with him intensively. He wants to integrate the Croatian infrastructure, economy and communications, including Croatian public companies, as soon as possible. He wants it to be a "soft" reintegration. It is only natural that elements of the Croatian administration will have to be gradually introduced, the most important of which is the establishment of the police. The police personnel will reflect the national structure, and when the police — with the Croatian Government's approval — takes over the control of borders, which is specified in Article 13 of the agreement, we shall be able to say that conditions have been created for refugees to return.

[Pukanic] Is this perhaps in General Klein's opinion the reason that Croatia agreed to the introduction of telephone lines with Vukovar via Belgrade, which it had previously strictly refused?

[Granic] Approximately a year, a year and a half, two years ago, every symbol of territorial integrity and sovereignty was very important. Today, after the "Bljesak" and "Oluja" operations, after the operations carried out in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and after the Dayton agreement, Croatia is certain that the area of eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and western Srijem will be reintegrated. Croatia can allow itself a "soft" reintegration now, because it is convinced that it will come to it. We want this aim to be achieved in the peaceful way, we want Belgrade to actively support the peaceful reintegration, and, it is only natural, we want all those Serbs who want it, who respect the Croatian state and the Croatian Constitution, to remain here, except for those who can be accused of war crimes. Those who came from Serbia and Bosnia-Herzegovina will have to withdraw, and those who came from other parts of Croatia and fulfill the conditions for staying here will be able to stay and have the possibility

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to choose: Either to stay [in eastern Slavonia] or to go home, or somewhere else. They will be offered the option, and this is also one of the reasons that we believe in a peaceful reintegration.

Having this aim in mind, Croatia has agreed to the transitional international administration and international monitoring mechanisms. When we speak about international monitoring mechanisms, I have in mind, above all, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, which will control human and minority rights. This will certainly be the office of Mrs. Rehn, who replaced Mazowiecki. The international community is, in other words, preparing a "soft" reintegration of that area into the Croatian legal system, and its primary concern is respect for human and minority rights.

[Pukanic] Are you quite sure that it will come to a peaceful reintegration? Is it possible that the Serbs will not agree with peaceful reintegration and that Croatia, if it is forced to, will use its armed forces?

[Granic] I believe that the chances of peaceful reintegration are great. This is also what the atmosphere was like during the talks in Belgrade. I would not be a serious politician, however, if I did not take all options into consideration.

[Pukanic] Why has Croatia agreed to the opening of the [Zagreb- Belgrade] motorway before it has been finally decided when the Croatian police and customs authorities will take control of the border crossing between the Republic of Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and before mutual recognition?

[Granic] Just as you said yourself, a part of the agreement is that the border crossing has to be opened — both of them, the Serbian, the Yugoslav in other words, and the Croatian.

[Pukanic] Does this mean that the motorway will not be opened before the customs office has been opened?

[Granic] No, the motorway will not be opened before the customs office is opened.

[Pukanic] Are the claims true that an increasing number of Serbs from other parts of Croatia have recently been moving to eastern Slavonia? The area has allegedly been settled by 5,000 Serbs recently.

[Granic] We have information that some Serbs have moved to eastern Slavonija, but not that many, and all of them are Serbs from Croatia.

[Pukanic] You do not think that they will not stay in that area, but return to Krajina.

[Granic] Yes. The most important thing at the moment is to thoroughly review the positions. Croatia now controls its borders, apart from eastern Slavonia, Baranja and western Srijem. Croatia has all arguments in her hands: A peaceful reintegration, and if that is not successful, another kind of reintegration. It is our interest, however, to have a peaceful reintegration. This is our interest for the sake of our own credibility, for the sake of the respect of Croatia in the world, and for the sake of the normalization of relations with Yugoslavia in the sense of regional stabilization and security. There are, in other words, several interests for this to be a peaceful reintegration. It must be especially pointed out that it is very important for Croatia to retain its credibility in the world in that way.

Peacefully and Cautiously

[Pukanic] Regardless of the UN Security Council resolution that has just been adopted, and regardless of your confidence in peaceful reintegration, we have to admit that Christmas was not celebrated in Vukovar peacefully, as was expected by the defense minister and the president himself. Are you sorry today that the "Oluja" action was not extended to eastern Slavonia at the beginning of August, since everything would have been solved within two days?

[Granic] It was not planned to go to eastern Slavonia then, and that was a very wise decision. We were sure that Belgrade — for logistic, military and political reasons — could not have responded to our operation in western Slavonia and later on in the former Sectors East and North. This assessment of ours was completely correct. We expected a stronger support from Karadzic [for the Serbs], but not a Yugoslav reaction. The situation in eastern Slavonia is different, however. Regarding this area, we are now in the best position ever, since no one in the world has doubts about its being Croatian territory, or whether or not it should be reintegrated. And the most important thing is that this is not questioned by Serbia, that is Yugoslavia, either. This does not mean that there will be no problems, or that it is certain that the reintegration will really be peaceful, but we believe that the chances of peaceful reintegration are great now.

[Pukanic] Will companies like "Vuteks," "Borovo," or "Belje," which operate in eastern Slavonia, have to interrupt their business connections with Serbian companies? Will customs duties be introduced on the goods they manufacture? How will the problem of Croatian business transactions with Serbia be solved in general, since trading has not been established yet?

[Granic] From the Republic of Croatia's point of view an agreement must be reached in order to be able to

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trade. Regarding the occupied part, it is certain that during the reintegration process elements of Croatian rule will have to be gradually introduced, which must be rounded off with its full introduction. We shall accordingly fight for the introduction of Croatian rule elements as early as possible.

[Pukanic] You will in other words tolerate business transactions between that area and Serbia at the beginning?

[Granic] We shall not tolerate anything that we shall be able to control, but if you are not able to control it, you are not responsible.

[Pukanic] What will happen with the weapons of the local Serbian paramilitary forces? Will they be transferred to the Croatian Army, as was stated earlier, or will they be destroyed?

[Granic] I think that these forces will leave, as long as they can still leave — with their weapons. We, in other words, expect that the weapons will go to Serbia, and the portion not taken away will have to be handed over to General Klein.

[Pukanic] Why has the Croatian currency not been introduced in eastern Slavonia yet? According to Klein's concept, the inhabitants of that area will choose themselves whether they to use the Croatian kuna or the existing currency.

[Granic] These are problems that will be solved soon if an agreement on pensions is reached. This means that only Croatian citizens can get a pension. This is one example. Croatian companies will do business only in the kuna. Why should another payment mechanism be used then? The Croatian Constitution clearly defines the kuna as the only means of payment in Croatia. This process cannot be completed in a day, it will take a year, and it is our aim to introduce all elements of Croatian power and organize the elections within that period of time, so that this area can become equal to other parts of Croatia.

[Pukanic] Have there recently been any contacts between the Croatian authorities and the representatives of the Serbs from eastern Slavonia, with Dokmanovic, Hadzic, Milanovic?

[Granic] There have been certain contacts with local Serbs, but no negotiations. Certain meetings have been held, some separated families have been brought together, contacts are possible since the telephone lines have been reestablished. There have been no official meetings; however, at least I do not know of any. It is obvious that the reintegration process will probably go more quickly than can be assumed, since most people want to establish contacts with the Croatian authorities in order to get a permit to stay.

[Pukanic] Do you think that Milanovic, Hadzic, Dokmanovic will remain in eastern Slavonia, and will they remain in official authorities?

[Granic] We would like them to actively participate in the reintegration process.

[Pukanic] What do you as the Croatian foreign minister think — when will Serbia recognize Croatia?

[Granic] There are no doubts about the recognition. This is not the most important Croatian aim, however. Our main aim is to reintegrate eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and western Srijem. Our second important aim is to normalize relations. We do not want any tensions; we shall not go outside Croatian borders and create tensions. The condition is, however, that roads, border crossings etc. are opened. All these issues can be solved with interstate agreements — and they are elements of recognition. This means that we are no longer in the position in which we were two years ago, when we insisted on any kind of negotiations. Now we know that Serbia can assist the reintegration process also without mutual recognition, but it is more interesting for Serbia to recognize Croatia and fully normalize relations, than it is for Croatia to recognize Serbia.

[Pukanic] Does this mean that Croatia is not in a hurry now?

[Granic] Had there been recognition two years ago, it would have speeded up certain processes. Since it came to the "Bljesak' and "Oluja" operations instead of the recognition, we would welcome it at this stage, but the process of reintegration is much more important for us. We shall not beg anyone for anything.

[Pukanic] At which stage of recognition shall we finally be able to stop calling this area "an occupied area"?

[Granic] In a year, after Mr. Klein's mission is over. In other words, if it comes to a quick implementation, and after elections are over.

[Pukanic] Does this mean that you believe that there will be absolute peace in the area in a year?

[Granic] Yes, we believe in that.

[Pukanic] Why has Croatia agreed with the extension of the UN observers' mandate and the enlargement of their members on Prevlaka?

[Granic] As you can see, the resolution on Prevlaka has again confirmed the territorial integrity of Croatia, and Prevlaka as a part of Croatian territory. We have agreed to the extension of their mandate by three months,

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with the possibility that it is extended to six and the possibility that they are joined by other observers, more convenient for Croatia. We have proposed that these should be civilian OSCE observers. Prevlaka is not a problem for us. It is a part of Croatian territory and the observers are here exclusively for the purpose of observing. Croatia has no intention of creating tensions and it is only a transitory issue for us, until relations between Croatia and Serbia, that is Yugoslavia, are fully normalized. Therefore we also proposed that other observers, that is, the OESC, come. This will not halt the process of reintegration of eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and eastern Srijem.

Good Spirit of the Federation

[Pukanic] Who is to be blamed in the first place for the fact that the Federation has not started functioning yet?

[Granic] I think that both nations are aware that the Federation is the only realistic option that guarantees the existence and the development of the Croatian and the Muslim nations, and European integration. There are various interests, however, that impede its development. Before the Dayton agreement was reached, this was the indefinite situation about what Bosnia-Herzegovina will finally look like, and the Croatian fear that they will be outvoted in the Federation and in relations between the Federation and the Republic of Croatia on the whole. On the other hand, there are various interests also within the Muslim leadership. Naturally, there were both on the Croatian and the Muslim side those who opposed the Federation, since it affects their own interests. It is important how these matters are solved, however.

The main provisions of the Dayton agreement should be implemented immediately. This means that the governments of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and of the Federation must be created, and an agreement regarding cantons and Mostar reached. By the agreement only community borders should be defined, since the statutes have been already made, and the Croats accept a joint police and freedom of movement. These are the most important matters, but the Dayton agreement solves many things. The Croatian Army will withdraw on time, but this also means that Mujahidins have to withdraw. All persons detained on all sides have to be exchanged, and this refers first of all to the Muslims and the Serbs, and to the Croats and the Serbs. After that, freedom of movement has to be made possible, in order to enable refugees and displaced persons to return. What has happened, however? There are 16,000 refugees from central Bosnia in Mostar, and so long as refugees and displaced persons do not start returning, we have to be very cautious, otherwise there will be conflicts. This means that both sides have to cooperate sincerely in this process.

The biggest help can be offered by the Joint Committee for Cooperation. The first session was chaired by President Tudjman in Sarajevo and it treated all significant strategic matters of common interest. We believe that this process will start unfolding, Croatia will make maximum efforts in order to support these processes by removing all impediments it can influence.

[Pukanic] Cay you express as a percentage the degree to which the Croats and the Muslims are to blame for the fact that the Federation has not started functioning yet?

[Granic] I would not like to make such an assessment. I do not want my statement to be biased, as is the case with foreign media. There must be no partiality. Statements like: "If Koschnik cannot solve the problem within seven days, he should leave," as Silajdzic said, should not be made. If boundaries between communes cannot be defined by mutual agreement, this problem must be solved by arbitration, which should be accepted by both sides. In other words, nobody is entitled to make the situation even more tense, on the contrary, the problems must be solved in good spirit.

Bosnian Croats

[Pukanic] You have mentioned prisoners and their exchange. Did you discuss the destiny of the arrested pilot Perisin in Belgrade?

[Granic] I discussed this issue too. We first discussed the missing persons. It is positive that Belgrade also accepted this as the first issue, since it has not been like this up to now: I also required information on Perisin.

[Pukanic] What did they tell you?

[Granic] Naturally, Milutinovic does not have the information, but we are just about to organize a meeting of the people engaged in that problem on both sides. They should meet soon and discuss all issues openly.

[Pukanic] Do you have information on how many prisoners from Vukovar are still alive?

[Granic] We discussed this with mothers on several occasions. We know positively that there are mass graves, but I cannot reliably speak about who is dead or alive since we do not have this information.

[Pukanic] Why does Croatia rely more on Herzegovina Croats than on the Croats in the leadership of Bosnia-Herzegovinain in solving political and other issues, on Mr. Komsic or Mr. Stjepan Kljuic, for example?

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[Granic] Croatia wanted better cooperation with Croats from the Bosnian leadership. The option for all of them to join us was offered on several occasions. Komsic was not circumvented in a single round of negotiations, and I personally met with him several times and informed the president about these meetings. The problem is that there are two lines within the small Croatian community in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and this during a war. When the democratic system is established after the election, everyone will be able to support and fight for his own option. In war the situation is different. Mr. Zubak is also a Croat from central Bosnia, and I cooperated mainly with him. He participated the most in the creation of the Washington and later of the Vienna and the Dayton agreements. Sancevic too, as the Croatian ambassador to Bosnia, who is a native of Bosnia, played a very positive, balancing role. In other words there were many Croats from Bosnia who did participate in the processes that led to the agreements — from Washington to Dayton. I can say that on several occasions it was suggested that the Bosnian Croats participate, but everyone is entitled to decide what he wants. I would like to repeat that it is very difficult if there are two lines during a war, but it is a democratic right for everyone to choose.

[Pukanic] Have you read the article published in WASHINGTON POST last week, in which Croatian politics in Bosnia is treated relatively critically. Mate Boban was accused of making all the politics in Herzegovina and all the Croatian politics in Bosnia-Herzegovina, which cannot be prevented by Tudjman himself, since Boban allegedly has papers that could discredit the president?

[Granic] I am sure that Mr. Boban does not have any papers that could discredit the president and I am also sure that he does not make any official politics in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Agreement About Arrests?

[Pukanic] I have heard that an agreement between the government of Bosnia-Herzegovina and IFOR will be signed on 19 January, about IFOR's entitlement to arrest anyone indicted by the Hague tribunal for war crimes in Bosnia-Herzegovina. What does this specifically mean for Croats? Is Dario Kordic's resignation as the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community] chairman and his arrival in Croatia to be seen in that light?

[Granic] Every side has the obligation to cooperate with IFOR and with the court in the Hague. This is nothing new. Also Croatia cooperates with the court in the Hague. We are in constant contact with it as a constructive factor, in contrast to some others that have not cooperated with it so far. It is known what kind of consequences this will have. Mr. Dario Kordic's resignation is quite understandable. He submitted it so as not to harm the basic national interests of the Croatian people in Bosnia-Herzegovina. It is quite clear that he could not work in that position, since he has been indicted. I am sure that the Croatian people in Bosnia- Herzegovina will prepare his defense and that the Republic of Croatia will give him support in it too.

[Pukanic] Do you mean the defense before the court?

[Granic] Yes, I mean the defense before the court. It is just being discussed what kind of defense this will be.

[Pukanic] I have heard that there are three possibilities for the indicted from Croatia to be defended....

[Granic] This is being negotiated now, and the final decision will, naturally, be taken by the court in the Hague, on the basis of the testimonies of the indicted and their attorneys; it is only natural that the Republic of Croatia will play a role too.

This Is All Democracy

[Pukanic] In the end I would like to ask you to tell me something in connection with your brother. Is it true that you did not vote against your brother, that you left the parliament hall before the vote was taken?

[Granic] I had a telephone conversation with New York at that time. My brother and I have good relations; they have never been disturbed. He has his friends; I have mine. He has his political option; and I have mine. We grew up in an environment that was diligent and enterprising; it stimulated individuality. Before the first elections, neither he nor I had belonged to a political party. We were both oriented toward the West, that is, toward democracy. We both achieved the highest professional functions. During the first election we firmly supported changes. He was a candidate for a minister. After that he became the first manager of the company "Elektroprivreda," had conflicts with some people who are in opposition now, and I went my way. After that, he chose his first party, the HSLS [Croatian Social Liberal Party], in which he became popular, and I worked professionally in my party, but my way in the HDZ is well known, so that I would not like to talk about it. This means that he has his democratic option, and I have mine. This is all democracy, why should not we, like the brothers Vogel in Germany, fight for the interests of our political parties and nothing else?

[Pukanic] Do you think that your position has become weaker because of the attacks on your brother?

[Granic] Not in my party leadership, but I believe that there are individuals who do not think so.

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[Pukanic] In which parties?

[Granic] In all parties; in mine too. It is true that both the public and the press were confused for some time.

[Pukanic] Whom does your mother support, on whose side is she?

[Granic] Discussions between me and my brother, or my wife and his wife are very heated sometimes. Everyone firmly defends his interests and attitudes, but this is part of democracy. It does not mean that I consider all of his moves fine, or that I am happy at some of his actions, but I would like to repeat that this is part of democracy. I shall fight for my option. I shall fight for it even if there is a new election. The only important thing for my mother is that we have good family relations.

[Pukanic] Your brother is probably not happy with some of your moves, the moves of your party.

[Granic] This is true. We had especially emotional discussions in connection with Bosnia. My brother says that we were forced into Bosnia, and this is absolutely wrong, since Croatia proposed to the United States that negotiations on a federation be opened. President Tudjman sent President Clinton a letter, and Mr. Miomir Zuzul, the present ambassador to the United States, witnessed my conversation with Mr. Redman, who was President Clinton's special representative, in which I made that proposal. This means that the initiative came from our side. Our opinions about this matter are completely different, but this is part of democracy.

[Pukanic] To what extent are you autonomous in making foreign policy?

[Granic] Regarding foreign policy, the Constitution determines how it should function — the president of the state has the powers, and I have a high degree of autonomy, especially in taking initiatives, making proposals, in implementing foreign policy as well as in the organization of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. I can say that I am very pleased with the possibilities I have as well as with the cooperation with the president.

Croatia: Deputy PM Views E. Slavonia Reintegration

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[Interview with Ivica Kostovic, deputy prime minister and the Croatian Government's representative in the interim administration for eastern Slavonia, by Sanja Despot; place and date not given: "UNTAES, General Klein, and Arkan Cannot Go Together"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Despot] Croatian officials received the latest resolution of the Security Council, which established the Transitional Administration for the Croatian Danube region [UN Transitional Administration for Eastern Slavonia] — UNTAES, with great satisfaction. Why?

[Kostovic] The enacted resolution is in compliance with what we expected. It is obvious that it has fulfilled all the Croatian requests: It has set the mandate of the Transitional Administration at one year, and the integrity of the Croatian territory has been confirmed once again. Although the reintegration of eastern Slavonia has not been explicitly mentioned in the text of the resolution — instead, it is implied in the report of Butrus Butrus-Ghali of 13 December — we can consider that this mandate has been established for the purpose of that reintegration. In the announcement that an experienced U.S. general will be at the head of the Transitional Administration, one can see that the Americans have fulfilled the guarantees they gave us after the Dayton agreements. Another important thing is the appeal to states and monetary institutions to help the reconstruction of the Croatian Danube region, i.e. to prevent all the aid being given exclusively to Bosnia-Herzegovina, particularly since the legal and the international situation is clearer here. The transitional police will be stationed on Croatia's international borders, and the implementation troops have to be taken seriously now, because now they can make use of Article 7 of the UN Charter, which gives them the mandate to apply force. The resolution also fulfilled another request of ours: UNTAES will cooperate with the International War Crimes Tribunal and protect mass graves and all other places that are important for solving the question of our missing people.

[Despot] How will the use of force be regulated?

[Separovic] It has been explicitly stated that the safety of UNTAES will be guaranteed by IFOR [Implementation Force] — which has been authorized under Article 7 of the UN Charter. The resolution requests the cooperation of UNTAES, whenever there is a need, with international forces of IFOR and with the high representative of the international community, Carl Bildt. That connection was confirmed by the British representative on the UN Security Council, who pointed out that the essence of the resolution was that whoever tried to expedite or to obstruct the military part of the agreement would have to deal with IFOR. The facts that the administrator is a general with much experience, and an American at that; that the commander of the troops will be a Belgian officer who will come from NATO; that the administrator, General Jacques Klein, will be responsible both for the civilian and the military parts of the administration; and that IFOR forces are stationed in the vicinity, with the well-know effective support of

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NATO aviation, show that, this time, it is all for real. The local Serbs know that well.

Two Tests for the Local Serbs

[Despot] Do you nevertheless expect them to try to resist the demilitarization?

[Separovic] I cannot predict the behavior of the Serbs. I can only say that they will be facing a major test. According to the opinion of Gen. Klein, my own opinion, and the opinions of our government and presidency, the demilitarization is a definite test of the willingness of the local Serb population and their leaders to accept reality — that they must hand over their arms and gradually integrate into the life of the Croatian state. We have even received some reports that the withdrawal of heavy weapons has already started. Maybe some people think it is unbelievable that voluntary disarmament could succeed, but the very fact that the withdrawal of arms has started shows that we must not be pessimistic in advance.

The second test of the readiness of the Serbs to accept the reality, regardless of how hateful it might be for them, is the return of our exiled people. Once the demilitarization is over, Gen. Klein will be very satisfied with that, but we will instantly demand the fulfillment of the second part of the resolution — the return of the people to those places where safe return is possible. And, of course, we will see whether the transitional police will be able to remove the symbols of what the Serbs consider to be their state and whether the transitional police will be able to control the borders, which is their task according to the resolution. Our government and our public will observe that process closely.

[Despot] When exactly does the one-year period of UNTAES begin?

[Kostovic] That one-year period has started, with the enactment of the resolution, and that is good for us: It has started, and its duration has also been set. At the last meeting with Gen. Klein — who has still not been officially appointed as the transitional administrator — we agreed that the government ministries should do the work that can be done in advance. That means that expert groups of UNTAES and their collaborators, mostly Americans, should agree with our ministries on how to establish communications, on how to enable the river traffic to start functioning, on the order in which the infrastructure will be reconstructed — all the way to the crucial aspect: How will UNHCR [UN High Commissioner for Refugees], our Office for Exiled People, and the Association of Exiled People organize the return of those people? This all requires a lot of work, which was meaningless up to now, because we did not know who our partners were going to be. It was pointless to plan the return of the exiled people before it was proved that the level of security needed for their return exists. It is now time to make those plans because we know who our partner is: UNTAES and the local Serbs. The Serbs who have committed no war crimes will be sent a clear message — which is what the president also said in his speech to the assembly two days ago — that all those who remain will have all the rights that the Croats have, which is guaranteed by this resolution.

The hardest question in the non-military part of the process is what will happen to the Serbs who came to that area and are living in Croatian houses. The general does not know that, and I have no solution for that, and it must be stated openly that that has not been elaborated. Everything else has been elaborated, but not those issues.

There Are Land Registers, Cadastre, Population Census

[Despot] The basic agreement says that the Serbs who came from Bosnia or Serbia must return, but that the refugees from Krajina, i.e. the citizens of Croatia, may stay. According to media reports that the United Nations has confirmed, in the last few months, the Serbs have been settling that area with refugees from Krajina.

[Kostovic] Yes, they have been settling there. But the agreement refers primarily to the local population. As for those who have come from liberated parts of Croatia, there are not many of them; we know that 7,000 have come from western Slavonia — but many have come from Bosnia and from Serbia, and it remains to be seen how that is going to be solved. As for questions of property, I want to point out that there can be no problems in establishing what belongs to whom. There are land registers and cadastre, as well as the 1991 census. Through that census, we can show the former population structure quite objectively, without awakening any sort of doubt. From the census, it can be seen that Croats were a majority there, although there were also many Hungarians and Serbs. Eighty-five thousand Croats, Hungarians, and other minorities should return to eastern Slavonia.

[Despot] But there have been some signs that the Serbian authorities will now bring transfer to this region the refugees who went to Serbia after Operation Storm, that they have been issuing documents for them. Will they be prevented from settling in Croatian houses?

[Kostovic] That is a problem for UNTAES. It is clear to everybody that Milosevic — who declared openly to

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international factors that he considers that territory to be a part of the Republic of Croatia — wishes to get rid of the great number of refugees, who burden him, i.e. that he does not want them any longer. However, we also have to agree that everything must go gradually, because too many people could cause a crisis situation that could destabilize the peace process. In effect, if demilitarization is carried out successfully, then normal talks on anything can start: on the return of people, on the problems of Serbs from Bosnia, on the problems of the Croats whose houses have been destroyed, and on the return of those whose houses have remained whole but occupied by Serbs. We have to admit openly that we have no solutions for a number of problems, and that we will try to solve them together with UNTAES.

[Despot] It might be that one year is not enough to solve all those problems?

[Kostovic] Right, but if, in that one year, the disarmament is carried out, if Croatian public institutions are introduced there, if the exiled people return to the places where they can return to immediately — to Lipovac, Nijemci, Cerici, Apsevci, partly Bogdanovci, Tenja, Tenjski Antunovac, Bilje, Laslovo — and if the reconstruction of Vukovar starts, then there will be no problem if the process of the integration into the Croatian legal and economic system takes longer. Well, normal life has not been thoroughly reestablished on the liberated territories of Knin and Petrinja either, but it is known that that territory is Croatia and that the normalization is being carried out by the institutions of the Croatian Government. We cannot have one health system in the Danube area, and another one here; we cannot have one currency here, and a different one there; it is not a problem to establish telephone lines to Vukovar, but telephone bills must also be paid. Instead of war and constant insecurity, they have now been offered security, with certain social values, and they would have to understand that. However, all that is a slow process.

[Despot] Whose police will be on Croatian international borders during the Transitional Administration?

[Kostovic] Croatia will delegate its men to the transitional police forces that are planned by the resolution, and some Serbs will also be included in them. Minister Jarnjak [Croatian interior minister] has informed me that we already have forces ready that only have to undergo a certain training in order to fit in the system of the planned police force. The policemen would be primarily trained for the control of Croatian borders and the protection of citizens, whereas the soldiers of the UNTAES units should control traffic routes and communications. The opening of the Zagreb-Belgrade highway — which will come about sooner or later, according to the existing agreement — will automatically imply the setting up of Croatian state symbols on the borders. The highway will not function unless that is the case. Croatia will insist that its own police and customs officers and the symbols of the Croatian state are on the border.

Djeletovci Will Be Taken Over by INA

[Despot] Does that mean that, on the territory of eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and western Srijem, the police will be formed according to the former ethnical structure?

[Kostovic] That has not been precisely defined, but through the Transitional Administration, we have the right to influence the structure of the police, since the purpose of the Transitional Administration is to integrate that area into the system of Croatia. People might be skeptical....

[Despot] Experiences so far give them the right to be skeptical.

[Kostovic] I am talking about goals, but I cannot claim that they will be fulfilled. If they are not fulfilled, it will be the Serbs who will waste the offered chance. They have been told clearly: This is now the chance for everything to happen in a peaceful way. I cannot say in advance whether they will waste it, but it is a fact that, after that, nobody will be able to deny the legitimate right of Croatia to establish order on its territory, because that would be a negation of the principles of action of the international community on the territory of the former Yugoslavia. And, besides, we have the guarantees of the United States, a world power that sponsored the Dayton Agreement and that, with its troops and means, has made a huge investment in peace in this region. I have not met any foreign diplomats who do not know about the significance of Vukovar for Croatia or who do not understand that the sooner Vukovar is under the control of Croatia, the safer the peace in this region will be.

[Despot] Will the introduction of Croatian institutions in eastern Slavonia start immediately after the demilitarization? The resolution mentions the introduction of public services, but it does not state explicitly that those are Croatian institutions. Does that leave space for the Serbs to read it in a different way?

[Kostovic] No, that is completely clear after the Erdut Agreement. At the moment, those services are provided by Yugoslavia, but, with the establishment of the Transitional Administration, the introduction of Croatian public services is implied. It is logical that Gen. Klein will talk to our transport minister to determine the moment when a particular road will be opened, that the forests will be taken over by Croatian Forests [public enterprise], that the mail will be taken over by the

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HPT [Croatian Post Office], and so on. It is clear that certain problems are expected to be accompanied by difficulties caused by those who had their interests there — for example in Djeletovci. Problems are expected, but Djeletovci will be taken over by INA [oil industry].

Nobody Will Feel Sorry for the Criminals

[Despot] Will Arkan realize that he has no other choice but to leave Djeletovci and retreat to Serbia, or will he still cause problems?

[Kostovic] Regardless of how reserved I may be regarding the speed of the other segments of the process, when it comes to Arkan, I can guarantee: UNTAES, Gen. Klein, and Arkan cannot go together. In order not to end up in The Hague, Arkan's troops will move from this territory very quickly. There have been some indications that, for the most part, the typical mercenary paramilitary units from outside have already started to withdraw. They will not acquiesce to demilitarization, but they will leave the area.

[Despot] Will the implementation forces for eastern Slavonia have more concrete tasks regarding cooperation with the War Crimes Tribunal, unlike IFOR, which is only allowed to arrest a war criminal "if they come across one"?

[Kostovic] I believe that not even IFOR knows exactly what that means. But the fact that UNTAES will cooperate with the tribunal cannot be interpreted in any other way than "to extradite a perpetrator." Another form of cooperation is the protection of the sites of crimes. Croatia will insist on that, since it has identified the perpetrators who killed over 1,000 people in only two days, and over 1,300 people have been declared missing. There are hundreds of living witnesses who can testify who the perpetrators of crimes committed at Velepromet and Ovcara were. Some of them have regretted their deeds, and some not, as was the case with that girl shown on Slovene television [not further specified], but the message is clear: They should leave the area as soon as possible. Nobody will feel sorry for them: Not the local Serbs, not UNTAES, and by no means the Croatian state.

Will the Serbs Stay or Leave — a Delicate Question

[Despot] Will the majority of local Serb population follow them?

[Kostovic] That is a delicate question, to which I can only give an indirect answer: I was very surprised to see how few of those people accept the Croatian state. In western Slavonia, there are still people who do not wish to accept Croatian documents. After the amnesty, many do not wish to remain in the Croatian state. This time, I believe that much will depend on us and on the sort of messages we send to them. The local Serbs have the protection of UNTAES and the obligation of Croatia to respect all human rights in the process of peaceful reintegration. That means that, this time, they have far better guarantees and a longer period to think things over than was the case earlier, when the illusion of the survival of some sort of Krajina as a state still existed. Now there is no longer such an illusion, and everybody will have to decide what is better for them — a better standard of living for them and their children, or the symbol of the Serb state, because they could remain completely isolated and deserted. Also, one must recognize different specific situations: In Baranja, the process will go faster and most of the people will remain, whereas in Vukovar, where there were major crimes, fewer will remain.

The issue of eastern Slavonia has been solved after Dayton. Now it remains to be seen whether anything has changed in the awareness of the local Serbs and whether they can accept reality. Judging by the talks Gen. Klein and some ambassadors have held there seems to have been sort of sobering up. That is rather important, and it remains to be seen whether that is sufficient. The Croatian Government is keeping other variants in reserve.

[Despot] So there is no longer a dispute between Zagreb and Belgrade regarding the issue of eastern Slavonia? Can the process of reintegration go ahead successfully without the mutual recognition of the two states?

[Kostovic] Recognition is a matter of time and of the development of relationships, but we must not wait for that recognition. The resolution stresses the importance of recognition, but we must not wait for formal recognition. It could happen that the crucial moments of demilitarization and of recognition overlap, and that could be a fatal moment. Perhaps, at present, Belgrade cannot afford that recognition, but it is inevitable.

[Box p 8]

Troops Have Been Identified

[Kostovic] We must atate openly that we do not know when the demilitarization will start, because it will start only after the troops are deployed and, from the example of Bosnia-Herzegovina, we can see that it can take several weeks. Because those are not our units, the government cannot guarantee anything, and it would not be fair for the Croatian public to expect that from us. All we can do is energetically demand that it happens as soon as possible, because otherwise the people's trust in the entire peace process will be questioned.

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[Despot] Why have the troops who will come to eastern Slavonia not been identified yet, so that their deployment could begin? Is it a matter of financial problems at the United Nations, problems of a technical nature, or a matter of political procrastination?

[Kostovic] I believe that it is a combination of all those factors. The Belgian contingent will be increased from the structure of the NATO pact, which pleases us greatly, because, so far, the Belgians, as professionals and policemen, have performed their task excellently. I believe that the main problem is of a physical nature — for example, how to bring one motorized unit from Pakistan, and the like. What is important is that Gen. Klein and the United Nations have managed to identify the states that are ready to provide troops.

[Despot] So the troops have been identified?

[Kostovic] Yes, but I would not like to talk about that much. I can only say that the Slovaks have offered logistical support, the Czechs have offered sanitary support, and there is also talk of Pakistan and Indonesia. But, that data will be presented to the public officially by Gen. Klein.

[Box p 9]

The Restoration of Trust

It is ridiculous to expect that a Croat whose family was killed could now go to Vukovar and be able to live happily with his Serb neighbors immediately. The task of UNTAES is the restoration of trust, but the trust of both Croats and Serbs in the entire process of the peaceful reintegration; to make the Serbs who have committed no crimes feel secure and to give them all human rights; and to prevent that process inflicting new humiliations on the Croats. The Croats will feel secure only when Croatian police are there, but those Croatian police must behave as they did in western Slavonia, after Operation Flash. All that is possible, if it happens the way it is planned.

Croatia: Officials, Bosnian Serbs Issue Statement

AU2901090996 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 24 Jan 96 p 2

[HINA report on statement issued on talks held in Banja Luka between the Croat and the Bosnian Serb delegations on 20 January: "Mutual Desire for Normalization of Relations"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Zagreb—"On 20 January 1996 talks were held in Banja Luka between delegations of the Republic of Croatia and the Serb Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina," it is said in the statement signed on behalf of the two delegations by Ambassador Slobodan Lang, the Croatian president's adviser for humanitarian affairs, and Rajko Kasagic, prime minister of the Serb Republic.

The statement, which HINA received from Lang's office on Monday, says that the parties welcomed the signing of the Dayton peace accord (with all its annexes) and the onset of peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina, expressing the need to create conditions for normal life there, as well as to establish economic and other relations as soon as possible.

"The abolition of forced work in the Serb Republic is welcomed as a concrete measure of the improvement of human rights.

"We welcome and support the 'Save a Life' action aimed at protecting citizens, particularly of Serb nationality, who have remained in the Republic of Croatia, that is, in the former UN protection areas (North, South and West).

"At the same time we welcome the establishment of the State Commission for Human Rights in the Serb Republic.

"We support equal treatment of all citizens, regardless of religion, nationality, or political conviction.

"We stress the importance of establishing freedom of movement for all citizens, and particularly for the purpose of family reunions, hospital treatment, funerals, and other basic needs.

"We support freedom of religion for all religious communities, free movement of clerics for the purpose of preaching, the establishment of a regular church hierarchy, as well as the protection of religious buildings, and spiritual and archival treasures.

"We support freedom of movement for relief convoys by all roadways and means of transport.

"We stress a particular condition for peace, which is the exchange of all registered prisoners of war, as well as action to find missing persons, for the purpose of record-keeping and a full exchange.

"As for economic conclusions at the meeting, it has been agreed:

"The delegations of the Serb Republic and the Republic of Croatia agreed that there is mutual interest in the resumption of economic relations between the two republics, with regard to the fact that in the prewar period such cooperation was extremely well-developed.

"The Serb Republic delegation showed interest in the purchase of oil, gasoline, mazut, and other products, as well as natural gas and fertilizers.

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"In addition, a proposal was made regarding the delivery of necessary quantities of ore from the Ljubija mine to the ironworks in Sisak.

"The Croatian delegation reported that the Pliva pharmaceutical company is interested in selling its medications in the Serb Republic.

"The mutual desire was expressed to see as rapid a reconstruction as possible and the reopening of the bridge at Gradiska and of the railroad from Zagreb to Banja Luka, as well as to facilitate trade in the border passage of Davor-Srbac, these being preconditions for beginning and developing economic forms of cooperation.

"The delegations agreed that the future process of development of economic contacts between the Serb Republic and Republic of Croatia should be done through their respective chambers of commerce.

"On this occasion the two sides invited the media to actively contribute to establishing peace, stressing the need for tolerance, cooperation and understanding among people.

"For the purpose of implementating the aforementioned conclusions, the delegations agreed to maintain regular contacts," it is said in the statement issued from the talks on human rights, humanitarian, and economic matters in Banja Luka.

Croatia: Returning Muslims Said To Feel Secure

LD2601135696 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 26 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] According to figures from Una Sana grand county, about 12,000 Muslims have returned to Velika Kladusa and Cazin from the refugee camp at Kupljensko. About 8,600 Muslims still live in that camp in very difficult conditions.

Trajko Grkovski reports.

[Grkovski] Followers of Fikret Abdic continue to sow suspicion among Muslims from the refugee camp at Kupljensko concerning their return to Velika Kladusa and Cazin, in spite of the fact that about 12,000 returnees—the number who have returned according to the office of Una Sana grand county—have convinced themselves of the security of returning and are staying there. We were given the above information today in Kupljensko by the UNHCR and by International Red Cross officials. The UNHCR officials are in the process of registering the remaining refugees in Kupljensko and, according to them, there are now 8,600 Muslims there. In the last few days the number of returnees has fallen, almost ceased, and about 20 people, mainly women and children, have been returning daily.

Sefik Stuvanovic, president of the Velika Kladusa municipality, claims that returnees are quietly adapting to everyday life, that the tripartite police forces of the Republic of Croatia, Turkey, and Bosnia-Herzegovina are overseeing the security of their return and residence and that the returnees to Velika Kladusa are receiving free humanitarian and medical aid.

Croatia: Serb TV on Croatian Goals in Srem-Baranja

AU2901090096 Beli Manastir Srpski Radio Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 23 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Croatian media continue to manipulate their people as far as the resolution of the situation in the remaining parts of the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK]—that is, the Srem-Baranja province—is concerned. They (?are worried about) their displaced persons but are avoiding indisputable facts regarding the return of Serbs who were expelled from their homes, which were then looted and burned, some towns and villages being completely destroyed.

One part of the clumsy evasion of responsibility for looting and crime is the denationalization in Tudjmanland, which, from its foundations, bears deep marks of the independent ustasha state. The entire project has the same goal and uses the same methodology. This is the topic of our commentary.

The Croatian public is watching events in neighboring Bosnia-Herzegovina with great attention, the successful resolution of which, on the principles of the Dayton Accord, represents the essential precondition for the resolution of the overall crisis in the former Yugoslavia. Even more attention is being paid to the start of the resolution for the remaining areas of the RSK that are still under Serb control.

A POLITIKA correspondent in Zagreb says that this is understandable since official Croatian politics have recently started to call the area of Srem-Baranja province, which used to be part of the former Socialist Republic of Croatia, the Croatian Danube Valley and the international community has also decided to recognize all the republics of the former SFRY [Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] within their former republican borders.

The main desire of the Croat people is to take over these areas as soon as possible and subject them to their authority. That is why there is no wish to conceal the open threats that the situation will be resolved by the use of arms and other means, as they like to say in Zagreb—as was done with the western parts of the RSK—unless Serb forces are demilitarized within a month after the transitional administration starts to operate.

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The Croatian side would prefer for these areas to end up like the areas in the south and west of Croatia—cleared of Serbs.

Croatia: Croatian Serbs Criticize Clinton Visit

AU2601211696 Vukovar Televizija Republike Srpske Krajine in Serbo-Croatian 2015 GMT 23 Jan 96

[Commentary by Milan Corak following the 2000 GMT "Vesti" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Text] A UN Security Council resolution began the implementation of the Erdut Agreement on the transition period in the Srem-Baranja District. Intensive talks, diplomatic and political activity, before and after the agreement was signed, abounded in various events, interpretations, and explanations. Each participant or side with a vested interest in the region interpreted these events and worked out agreements in its own way. Croatia most of all. And if a transition period and a two-year international administration is defined by the Erdut Agreement, the Croatian authorities appease their subjects by explaining that the agreement has already provided for the so-called peaceful reintegration and the establishment of the Croatian constitutional and legal system. The Croatian propaganda machinery announces loudly the return of Croat refugees to the territory of Srem-Baranja District, while the situation is actually diametrically opposed to their statements.

The establishment of telephone lines between the FRY and Croatia have enabled the exchange of information and contacts between the people in our district and the citizens of Croatia. We are hearing more and more often from our former neighbors, colleagues who call from Croatia wanting to know about their houses and apartments. But most of them are not interested in coming back because they are aware that, after what they did here, coexistence is not possible. Just a few of the great many who called, mostly those who have not met their existential needs in Croatia, said that they wanted to return.

The Erdut Agreement obliges the international community to guarantee all human rights for the Serbs on the territory of our district, while the Croatian state threatens to arrest and sentence the Serbs for the alleged armed rebellion against the Croatian state, which the Srem-Baranja District has never been a part of and whose inhabitants have never become citizens of the country that wants to prosecute them. There have been announcements of charges, and charges were brought against the Serbs who opposed the forceful secession of Croatia in 1991. At that time, Croatia was not an independent country, but a federal unit of the internationally recognized state of Yugoslavia. All those who opposed the secession at the time and joined the armed forces, Yugoslav People's Army, territorial defense, and the police to defend the SFRY [Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] acted upon their conscience and patriotic duty and fulfilled their constitutional duty, defending the sovereignty and integrity of their country. What court in what country can charge someone for fulfilling the most sacred of all duties? We know the answer: that can only be done in Tudjman's NDH [Independent State of Croatia], a state that has special laws for the Serbs that do not comply with any civilized, democratic, and human standards. Forcing the Serbs to live in that country is tantamount to being an accomplice to crimes and genocide against the whole nation.

Some members of the international community—since the beginning of the Yugoslav crisis caused by the breakup of the SFRY—are biased, do not take the rights and interests of the Serb nation into consideration, and support the Croatian anti-Serb policy for the sake of their own interests. One of those interests—providing locations for the storage of nuclear waste produced by some Western countries—is already being realized. The best-kept state secret of the new NDH was revealed by their media, which talked about the locations reserved for the dumping of nuclear waste. All those sites are located in areas in which the Serbs lived before they were exiled. The first zone is the area of Petrova Gora, Troglavska, and Drinska Gora and the second is in the Slavonian Psunj, Papuk, Krndija, Dilj, and Pozeska Gora Mountains, together with Bilogora and Mosoracka Gora. In 1991, the Croatian authorities devised a plan to expel the Serb population from those areas in order to meet the demands of their masters who helped them create their present state. Moreover, renting depots for storing nuclear waste is a lucrative job, because nuclear power plants would pay anywhere from $1 million to $5 million a year for such services, and the financial state of Croatia is such that it would be hard to give up the profit from this kind of business.

That is why they needed Serb territory, but they did not need the Serbs, who had to be expelled. Once all that was done—naturally, at the expense of the Serbs—leading members of the international community assumed the role of peacemakers but again in the spirit of their politics of double standards. All the while, in his public appearances, their protege Franjo Tudjman has been acting as if he has lost touch with reality, for even in the speech he delivered in Paris at the signing of the peace agreement, he once again rendered his understanding of history, of course in the spirit of official Croatian policy and its scientific thought. Tudjman's appearance and speech once again confirmed that what has happened to the Croats for centuries,

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but never to any other European nation: Depending on the needs, moment, and interests, Croatian leaders have always manipulated and sold their people. Maybe that is why they have been looking for their roots for centuries and famous philosophers and historians always called them a nation without history and without origins, a social community without a framework. The fact that their first and only state lasted for only for a short period late in the tenth and early eleventh century, while they were the servants of Europe for the rest of time, is a case in point. In search of their roots and origin, Croatian men of science first eliminated their Slavic roots and established that they are of Iranian origin and that they have no ethnogenetic ties with the Slavic people. That very thesis formed the basis of their belief, during World War II, that they are of Aryan origin and that they belong to the nation that is as old as the world.

Now they have forgotten that nonsense, and the Croats again want to be somebody else, so some of their scientists now claim and prove that they are of Avar origin. Even the contemporary history of the Croats shows that they are looking for their origin. They now see themselves within the borders of Austro-Hungary, the Independent State of Croatia, and within the borders of AVNOJ [Antifascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia], depending on their needs and circumstances. This behavior is encouraged by their masters from abroad to the extent that they have never had their own country and independence, and, however much they pledge allegiance to it, they do not have it today either.

Bill Clinton recently showed how little the powerful Western allies care about the Croatians' statehood and their state. His visit to the satellite creation resembled one-time visits of colonial masters to their African colonies. A visit paid wearing dirty boots and a leather jackets, during which the guest doesn't even pay attention to the host's flag, cannot be characterized as high-level or friendly, especially when it is marked by the host's subservient behavior at every step of the mini-visit.

However, the Croatian leader's behavior within his own state is far more arrogant, like that of a dictator. The fact that he would not recognize the election results in the County of Zagreb and the city assembly and failed to recognize the legally elected mayor of Zagreb shows the extent of dictatorship imposed by the new Croatian constitution and laws that give the president unlimited authority.

It is hard to imagine the Serbs having any rights in that system, just as it is hard to imagine that the Croatian state will rule over this area. Anyway, the transition period and UN administration have been established to prevent the Serbs' exile from the area and to find the best solution for the status of this territory in the transition period. All interpretations by the Croatian policy and media are just propaganda.

Croatia: Krajina Serb Commander Killed by Mine

LD2801180296 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1631 GMT 28 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Vukovar, 28 Jan (TANJUG)—Colonel Stojan Mladenovic, commander of the [Krajina Serb] Baranja Division, died on duty at 1145 [1045 GMT] yesterday near the village of Knezevo, the command of the Krajina Serb Army's 11th Corps said in Vukovar today.

His driver, squad leader Jovan Marcinko, died together with Mladenovic.

No details have been released about the circumstances in which Mladenovic and Marcinko died. It has been learned unofficially that the car in which they were inspecting the positions held by the Baranja division, which is part of the 11th Corps, hit an anti-tank mine.

Colonel Mladenovic had headed the Baranja Division since the beginning of the war, and squad leader Marcinko fought in its ranks. [passage omitted]

Croatia: Tudjman Meets With Romanian Prime Minister

LD2501190396 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 25 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Our correspondent Drazen Korda has a report from the Presidential Palace:

[Korda] Croatian President Franjo Tudjman this evening received Romanian Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu who is paying a visit to the Republic of Croatia at the head of a Romanian Government delegation. According to a joint assessment, Croatian-Romanian relations are very good, which is best confirmed by the fact that this is the second visit by the Romanian prime minister to our country. [passage omitted]

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Croatia: Endorsement of New Zagreb Mayor Ruled On

LD2401164296 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 24 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] We have just received an announcement from the public relations office of the Croatian Government.

On the basis of Article 23, Paragraph Five of the law on the government of the Republic of Croatia, at today's session, the government adopted the following conclusion:

The government of the Republic of Croatia considers that the handover of duties between the newly-elected mayor of the city of Zagreb and the present mayor of the city of Zagreb can only be carried out once the election of the newly-elected mayor of the city of Zagreb is endorsed by the president of the Republic of Croatia.

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Poland: Poll Shows Rising Support for Kwasniewski

WS2601152096 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 26 Jan 96 p 2

[Article by KNYSZ: "The President Is Up, the Prime Minister Down"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Three weeks into his presidency, Aleksander Kwasniewski has earned more popular support.

In mid-December, Kwasniewski, then the president-elect, enjoyed the support of 56 percent of Poles, which ranked him fifth in the popularity ranking of presidential candidates.

Now, his 68 percent of support—a 12-percent increase—has pushed him into third place, after Jacek Kuron and Sejm Speaker Jozef Zych.

Since this past December, confidence in Kuron has firmly stood at the same level (and is still considerably stronger than that of other politicians). Sejm Speaker Zych has also improved his confidence rating, which rose from 59 percent to 69 percent, placing him second on the ranking list.

This also occured because Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy, who closely followed Kuron in December but dropped to eighth place after the scandal broke out, lost much popular confidence, his support falling from 61 percent to 46 percent. At the same time, the number of those who do not trust the prime minister rose from 23 percent to 30 percent. The survey was conducted before the Prosecutor's Office opened an investigation against Oleksy and before the prime minister announced his imminent resignation.

Meanwhile, former Interior Minister Andrzej Milczanowski, who ignited the Oleksy case by filing a report with the Military Prosecutor's Office on 19 December 1995, lost only a fragment of popular confidence, which declined from 34 percent to 31 percent. However, the cost that he paid is the increased lack of confidence in him—from 15 percent to 31 percent.

Former President Lech Walesa has done much worse: His popular confidence slumped from 51 percent to 42 percent, while 42 percent of respondents, up from 34 percent, said they have no confidence in him.

Confidence in Politicians

	Percent
Jacek Kuron	69
Jozef Zych	59-69
Aleksander Kwasniewski	56-68
Tadeusz Zielinski	57-62
Grzegorz Kolodko	43-53
Waldemar Pawlak	43-52
Jan Olszewski	54-50
Jozef Oleksy	61-46
Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz	38-45
Leszek Balcerowicz	43-40
Lech Walesa	51-42

* * *

This opinion poll was conducted by the CBOS [Public Opinion Research Center] between 12 and 16 January among a random representative group of 1,177 adult Poles throughout the country.

Poland: Official: Oleksy Case May Delay NATO Entry

LD2901154296 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1516 GMT 29 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Bialystok, 29 January—Deputy Sejm Speaker Aleksander Malachowski fears that the so-called Oleksy case may become an excuse that could "make the life of Americans easier" by giving them a reason to postpone Poland's admission into NATO. He said at a press conference in Bialystok [northeastern Poland] on 29 January that this could be a "convenient excuse."

"The key to Poland's admission to NATO lies in Moscow. If the Russians say no, the Americans will never antagonize Russia because of Poland (...). They (the Americans) may now have an excellent pretext notto make explanations that it is Russia that does not

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want our country's admission into the alliance," the deputy speaker said.

In his opinion, it was very imprudent on the part of former Interior Minister Andrzej Milczanowski to adopt "that particular position" on the issue of resolving the question of Prime Minister Oleksy's alleged collaboration with a foreign intelligence service. "Instead of remaining in the government and monitoring the matter to prevent it from being hushed up, he took it out in the open, which on the whole will have a negative impact on Poland because from that moment one could start saying that Poland is not a credible country," Malachowski added.

Poland: Oleksy Unanimously Elected SdRP Chairman

LD2701172696 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1657 GMT 27 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 27 Jan—According to unofficial information, Jozef Oleksy has been elected the new chairman of the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic [SdRP]. At an SdRP national convention held on Saturday, 308 delegates out of a total of 325 voted in favor of Oleksy, and 17 votes were invalid. This means that Oleksy received 100 percent of the valid votes. The official results will be presented to journalists at a news conference to be held at 1830.

Poland: Oleksy Reiterates Will To Preserve Coalition

LD2701200196 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1855 GMT 27 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Warsaw, 27 Jan—Jozef Oleksy has been elected the new chairman of the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic [SdRP]. [passage omitted]

The new SdRP chairman told correspondents at a news conference that he had decided to stand as a candidate because he had relented to arguments of [SdRP] convention delegates, who thought that he was capable of and should become party chairman. When asked how he imagined the future of social democracy, he pointed out, among other things, that the party should become more active at the grass roots because it did not have sufficient access to the media.

Oleksy added that the SdRP would not be passive with regard to the recent attacks against it. According to the new chairman, the SdRP has not changed its position on the issue of the Concordat, which means that the new constitution should be passed before the Concordat ratification.

The convention has confirmed the SdRP's willingness to cooperate with the Polish Peasant Party within the existing coalition. Oleksy said that renegotiation of the coalition agreement, which would mean a change of the course of the reforms envisaged by the agreement, was out of the question.

The convention participants expressed their thanks to Oleksy for his work in the post of chairman of the Council of Ministers. In their opinion, Oleksy's resignation was a result of an "unprecedented accusation by [former] Interior Minister Andrzej Milczanowski and a campaign unleashed against the former prime minister."

Poland: SdRP Convention Supports Coalition With PSL

LD2701203896 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1847 GMT 27 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 27 Jan—The National Convention of the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic [SdRP] has maintained its determination to continue coalition cooperation with the Polish Peasant Party [PSL]. In a position adopted today, the convention stressed that the coalition "has given proof that it is capable of serving Poland competently and responsibly, that it is in a position to assure the stabilization of the state and the development of the economy."

The SdRP authorized the party leadership to continue talks with the PSL on a change in the post of prime minister.

In another document, the convention comes out in favor of creating judicial solutions guaranteeing that data and material accumulated in the past and collected in the future by the special services will not be used for the purposes of political struggle and personal contests, and that the citizen will not be helpless in a confrontation with the security service apparatus.

The convention thanked everyone involved in the presidential [election] campaign. "The credit for Aleksandr Kwasniewski's victory goes to the thousands of people who worked devotedly for our common success," the convention participants declared.

Jozef Oleksy was also thanked for his activity as prime minister.

In a declaration on the current situation in the country, the convention stressed that "the Democratic Left Alliance-PSL coalition government has not lost our confidence. The government's program and its style of work are gaining public acceptance," the declaration says.

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Poland: Weekly on Links Between SdRP, Former PZPR

WS2601160996 Poznan WPROST in Polish 28 Jan 96 pp 22-23

[Report by Stanislaw Janecki in cooperation with Jerzy Slawomir Mac and Artur Witoszek: "The SdRP Political Finances, Social Ties"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *On 20 February 1990, Leszek Miller instructed the 10th Division of the General Savings Bank-National Bank [PKO BP] to confer foreign currency (U.S. dollars and Swiss francs) deposited at the Swiss Bank Corporation in Basel and the Standard Chartered Bank of New York to the disposal of the National Council of the Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland [SdRP]. Apart from those two banks, the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] must have had deposits at least at the Union Bank of Switzerland in Zurich and the Republic National Bank of New York. The legal basis for conferring the PZPR bank accounts to the SdRP was a resolution passed by the 11th PZPR Congress on 29 January 1990. Indeed, the Social Democrats succeeded in taking over the money (at least $749,600,000 and 14.4 million Swiss francs).* The SdRP authorized Treasurer Wieslaw Huszcza and head of the Central Bureau of the SdRP Andrzej Hajkowski to administer those funds.

The time has come to break the silence on the "tax" that was collected on transactions in the so-called second currency area. Interest on the value of these transactions, paid in advance, was then transferred to the Central Committee. Stefan Bratkowski revealed this to the Polish Section of the BBC several days ago. The money thus obtained is alleged to have been paid to the PZPR's Swiss accounts. The number of these accounts is thought to be far greater than the one the SdRP laid its hands on later. The practice had been going on for 20 years when the trade counsellor at the Polish Embassy in Paris discovered it in the 1960's. He wrote a memo that landed on Zenon Kliszko's desk and was immediately forced to retire.

When in 1988 the PZPR realized it had no future, the PKO BP was instructed by the Foreign Department of the PZPR Central Committee to open accounts in reputable banks in the West via Polish banks abroad—and in the banks' name. An agreement on the issue was signed by Ernest Kucza, head of the Foreign Department of the PZPR Central Committee, his deputy Krzysztof Ostrowski, Stanislaw Jarzabek, and Wiktor Adamczyk. Formally, membership fees from party members working abroad were to be paid to these accounts. The total of these fees, however, was far smaller than the worth of transfers to the fixed balance account indicated. Moreover, strange things had been happening with accounts held at the Main Currency and Foreign Exchange [GOWD] of the National Bank of Poland. The head of the Foreign Department three times requested GOWD (on 19 December 1984, 30 September 1986, and 25 May 1987) to transfer 1 million Swiss francs from account number 34089-151-9797 to fixed balance account number 34089-151-97971. It is not clear where the money deposited into account 9797 immediately before the transfer came from. In 1989 the sums paid out from these accounts to the fixed balance account were far higher than the initial deposits. There is only one explanation for this: Huge sums were paid into account 9797 and transferred abroad only days afterwards. Where did that money come from?

In March 1990, the SdRP deposited $500,000 into an account at the 10th Division of the PKO BP, but the entire amount, together with accrued interest—4.7 billion zlotys [Z] in total—was transferred to the party's zloty account at the 15th Division of the PKO BP, where Z2.7 had already been deposited. At the end of February, the Chief Council of the SdRP transferred more than Z28 billion to an account held by the PZPR Central Committee at the 10th Division of the PKO BP and took over that account soon afterwards. Over the next few months, new companies affiliated with the Social Democrats mushroomed, and old ones reorganized rapidly.

It should also be kept in mind that in October 1989 the Political Bureau of the PZPR Central Committee decided that some of the party funds should be generated through cooperation with communist parties of the Eastern bloc. Leszek Miller spoke about joint economic activities carried out by satellite parties during his visits to Moscow in November 1989 and in May and September of the following year.

A secret resolution passed by the PZPR Central Committee on 12 November 1991, which we quoted in the previous issue of WPROST, contains a very interesting Point 5: "The leadership of the SdRP should be allowed to establish a joint Polish-Soviet company specializing in trade and mediation, foreign tourism, consulting, marketing, and similar services." The company was to be a "model party company." Establishing such a company was the purpose of a series of visits paid by SdRP treasurer Wieslaw Huszcza to Moscow. However, this could have been a cover-up.

Only personal configurations and business ties were clear in the enterprises of the Social Democrats. SunPol, a company founded in Lublin by David Bogatin, who later became widely known as the head of the First Commercial Bank in Lublin and was deported to

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the United States, employed the elite of former officers from the Voivodship Committee of the PZPR: Andrzej Szpringer, former first secretary of the Voivodship Committee; Aleksander Chochorowski, former head of the Security Service and the Voivodship Command of the Citizens Militia; Henryk Gradkowski, the Polish People's Republic delegate to CEMA headquarters; Stanislaw Wozniak, a member of the PZPR Voivodship Committee; and, most notable of all, Julian Aleksandrowicz, a friend of the SdRP leaders.

Equally noteworthy was the staff of the Cooperation, Science, and Culture Foundation established in May 1991. The founders were once again leftist leaders: Leszek Miller, Jerzy Szmajdzinski, Wieslaw Huszcza, and Tadeusz Iwinski. Members of the Servicus Ltd. company supervisory board were [current Justice Minister] Jerzy Jaskiernia and Andrzej Hajkowski, who were authorized to take over funds from the PZPR in 1990. Ireneusz Sekula found his way into the exceptionally dynamic Polnippon company. Polnippon later became one of the cofounders of Bank Wschodni in Bialystok. The Wspolnota company was founded in the very same town by the PZPR Voivodship Committee and a Bydgoszcz-based company, Transakcja, controlled by the local leftists.

In June 1988, former head of the Culture Department at the PZPR Central Committee and Marian B. Michalik founded a company called Savim. Savim sprouted into several dozen more companies (which are shareholders to each other) and into Savim Bank, in which the same companies and private persons hold stakes. Companies within the holding generally have the minimum founding capital required. They keep on splitting into new companies, merging or buying each other out. Nearly all of them share the same address—Nowoursynowska 139—and have very similar names, sometimes with just one letter different. They form a very complex structure. Savim SA, for example, has a stake in Wydawnictwo Kronika Ltd. Company, Savim-Telfilm SA, Parkowa SA, Savimex SA, Savimer SA, Savimter SA, Savimed SA, Savim-Transeuropa SA, Savim-Art, Savim Warm, Savim-Inz, Savim-Tours, Savimpres, Savim Asekuracja, Savim Lex, Savim-Kor. and MBM Holding. The MBM Holding (Michalik's initials), on the other hand, has a stake in Savim SA, Parkowa SA, Savim Transeuropa, Savim-Art, Savim-Inz, Savim-Tours and Savim-Kor.

Companies within the Savim holding turn over trillions of zlotys in capital, which is very often enlarged by the following scheme: On 12 October, a Special Assembly of Savim SA shareholders decided that the company would issue dollar bonds worth $8.5 million. Liabilities related to the operation, now the equivalent of $11 million, are to be guaranteed by a company called Broker-Man (part of the holding and also housed at Nowoursynowska 139). The only problem is that at the time Broker-Man's assets were a mere Z1 million. On the same day, Savim SA issued a guarantee to Wydawnictwo Kronika in an amount up to Z482.5 billion on shares issued by this company. The capital of Savim was Z1 billion at the time, annual revenues Z92 billion, and net profits Z1.6 billion. The shares thus issued, not much different from U.S. junk bonds, which anyone may purchase, then serve as founding capital in the process of establishing further companies.

Vladimir Alganov, the KGB colonel alleged to have been supervising an informer referred to as Olin [allegedly Oleksy], became a part of the Social Democratic business network. When in 1992 he ceased to be first secretary of the Russian Embassy, he immediately turned into a grain dealer. This is not unusual, considering that his family had operated for years on the border between the secret services and the agricultural business in Kazakhstan. Vladimir Alganov's brother was head of one of the KGB departments in Kazakhstan, and his wife, Tatyana, a graduate of the Central State Institute of Physical Education, is the daughter of a former party secretary for agriculture at the CPSU Central Committee in Kazakhstan. Alganov's father, in turn, was a general in the Red Army. The KGB colonel's family thus quickly learned how to reap profit from personal connections, professional ties, and the information they had access to.

It so happens that in the 1990's Andrzej Kuna and Aleksander Zagiel, owners of the Polmarck Company, which cooperated with Agros [agricultural trade company] at the time, purchased grain in Kazakhstan in the 1990's. They soon began trading on the entire territory of the former USSR. We now know that in November 1994 it was discovered that Polmarck applied to the Voivodship Employment Office in Warsaw for permission to employ Russian trader Vladimir Alganov. The owners of the company claim he worked for them from 6 December 1994 to 5 December 1995 (earning Z5,000 a month). The problem is that Alganov and his wife received work permits only in June 1995. Does this mean that for half a year he worked illegally? More probably he was not in Poland at the time. Most interestingly of all, the Voivodship Employment Office issued four—not two—work permits for the agent and his wife: 0001247, 0001248, 0001235, and 0001291. It is equally remarkable how the Russian intelligence officer came to work for Polmarck. Could it be that Messrs. Kuna and Zagiel belonged to the same circle of friends and business partners as the Social Democratic leaders, among them Slawomir Wiatr, their partner in the Billa Polen Company? It is worth noting that Billa Polen emerged

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from the Kelles-Kraus Foundation, established by Slawomir Wiatr and Krzysztof Ostrowski, the aforementioned deputy head of the Foreign Department of the PZPR Central Committee.

Poland: Bill on Secret Files Commission Ready

LD2901095096 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 0900 GMT 29 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Zbigniew Siemiatkowski, under secretary of state in the President's Chancellery, revealed that the presidential bill setting up the commission on public confidence [to supervise access to secret Interior Ministry files] is ready. In an interview for Polish Radio, Zbigniew Siemiatkowski said that the final amendments will be made to the bill today and the document will be handed to the president tomorrow.

Zbigniew Siemiatkowski stressed that this is not a vetting law but one that introduces a mechanism for checking candidates for the highest state posts from the point of view of their possible collaboration with a foreign intelligence or security service. The law will give public figures who are accused of collaboration the possibility of appealing to the commission, which will pronounce on whether the accusations are justified.

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Romania: Tinca on FRY Cooperation Talks, IFOR Unit

AU2601215696 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 2000 GMT 26 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Romanian Defense Minister Gheorghe Tinca returned from Belgrade and shared his impressions with our correspondent Vasile Emanoil in Timisoara, where his plane was able to land.

[Begin recording] [Tinca] The visit that I paid to Belgrade was mainly aimed at talks with Defense Minister Bulatovic. On this occasion, I was also received by the president and the prime minister of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY].

The entire visit was an opportunity to display the feelings that exist between our peoples. Likewise, during the three discussions that we held, the wish to cooperate was evident on both sides, as a matter of fact, to resume cooperation by making use of the lifting of sanctions that were instituted on Yugoslavia.

In the military field, we used this first contact to arrange a so-called small strategy regarding the creation of a new judicial basis for relations between the ministries of defense of the two countries.

Naturally, we also discussed the current situation and possible future developments in the space of the former Yugoslavia and, regarding this, we discussed our training for the battalion that we have and that will go to Bosnia as part of the IFOR [Implementation Force] mission.

I presented the willingness of the Romanian side to expand contacts with the FRY in the military area, that is, to make a contribution to the relations of good neighborliness that used to and continue to prevail between our countries.

We said that we can advance on the path of cooperation in the technical area, which used to be quite intensive before, and now we need to review what existed between us, make an inventory of our actions, and establish our future directions in accordance with our interests.

Certainly, we also discussed the situation in the Balkans, and we noticed that regarding both the space of the former Yugoslavia and the situation in the Balkans, Yugoslavia has, I believe, a constructive attitude, which can be and is worth supporting. Its goal is the consolidation of a process that will lead to stability in this region, and it also wishes to enter relations of cooperation with the other Balkan countries.

We concluded this visit with a feeling of optimism regarding developments there, and we conveyed our hopes for much success for the people of the FRY in their new orientation.

[Emanoil] Mr. Minister, you also mentioned a discussion referring to the participation of a Romanian battalion under IFOR aegis in Bosnia. What is the opinion of the current Yugoslavia about this Romanian participation?

[Tinca] First of all, I would like to tell you that, in all our discussions, that is, at the Ministry of National Defense, the presidency, and the government, I met the same determination of the Yugoslav decisionmakers to contribute to the respect for the concluded accords regarding the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Indeed, they really wish for this agreement—the Dayton agreement and then the Paris treaty—to come into effect and lead to just and definitive solutions, they say, of the situation. Therefore, they have a positive attitude towards IFOR. As far as our participation is concerned, I noticed that there is also a positive attitude, maybe even more than that. When I was talking about our participation, I tried to clarify certain details that we have to solve regarding moving our unit to Bosnia. I believe that it will transit the territory of the FRY, and we wished to see to what extent we can have the support of the Yugoslav authorities. I would like to tell you that their attitude was positive. We were assured that we will benefit from their assistance. [end recording]

Romania: Vacaroiu Assesses Slovenia, Croatia Visits

AU2601194296 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1400 GMT 26 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Romania's Prime Minister, Nicolae Vacaroiu, has returned from his two-day visit to the Republic of Slovenia and the Republic of Croatia.

In the statement made upon his arrival at Otopeni Airport, the prime minister emphasized the fact that the visits concluded with very good results for Romania.

During the talks held with the presidents and the prime ministers of the two states, the sides pointed out that the development of relations on a political level in the past four to five years has become evident and also emphasized the excellent relations existing at the level of heads of state and government.

Special recognition was conveyed to our country for the role it played in the finalization of the Dayton and Paris peace accords.

As regards economic cooperation, the results have also been outstanding, said the Romanian prime minister.

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In Slovenia, an accord on mutually promoting and protecting investments, the rule on the functioning of the joint commission of economic cooperation, an accord of cooperation between the trade chambers of the two countries, and an agreement to finalize a free trade accord within three months were signed.

In Croatia, the sides signed the accord on avoiding double taxation, the accord on economic cooperation between the two trade chambers, and the draft of a free trade accord.

We also mention that, due to unfavorable weather conditions, Nicolae Vacaroiu canceled the visit that he had to pay to Sarajevo in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Romania: Opposition Wins Cluj Preference Poll

96P20000A Bucharest AZI in Romanian 5 Jan 96 p 5

[Article by Ruxandra Trandafoiu: "In 1992, They Voted for the Opposition—Transylvanians Have Not Changed Their Political Preferences in the Past Four Years"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The recent public opinion poll carried out by CURS [the Center for Urban and Regional Sociology] notes an "anomaly" for the region of Transylvania; Transylvania has chosen the Democratic Convention and Emil Constantinescu, not Ion Iliescu and the PDSR [Social Democracy Party of Romania], as was the case in the other regions of the country. This tendency was confirmed on the Cluj County level by a poll carried out by the teachers and students in the Faculty of Sociology of "Avram Iancu" University in Cluj. The poll was carried out at the beginning of December on a representative sample of 1,000 persons in Cluj County and the results were made public at the beginning of this year.

The situation has changed radically compared to the 1992 local elections. [Support for] the PUNR [Romanian National Unity Party] dropped from 34 percent in 1992 to 14.31 percent, that is, less than one-half of what it was in 1992. Thus the PUNR administrations in Cluj-Napoca and many other cities and communes are showing their "fruits." It appears that Cluj residents are not allowing themselves to be deceived by the pomp of the dedications of statues which cannot resolve the complex problems of a county capital with 500,000 residents.

Although, in this poll, the PNTCD [National Peasant Christian Democratic Party] is behind the PUNR, with only 10.25 percent, together with the other parties allied in the Democratic Convention it holds more than 20 percent of the preferences. It is true, specialists maintain that, considering when the poll was taken—the beginning of December—some voters might have been influenced by compassion and sympathy for the deceased PNTCD leader, Corneliu Coposu.

The Democratic Convention and the PUNR are followed by the UDMR [Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania]—9.64 percent, declining slightly, the PDSR—7.72 percent, an unexpectedly low figure in light of its recent active campaign, and the PD [Democratic Party]—6.50 percent, an increase compared to 1992. The other parties received less than 2 percent.

Just as in the CURS public opinion poll, Emil Constantinescu is at the top of the candidates for president, with 21.21 percent, closely followed by Ion Iliescu, with 20.39 percent. Then comes Gh. Funar—10.40 percent, Petre Roman—3.74 percent, and Adrian Nastase—3.13 percent. If the majority of the UDMR supporters vote for E. Constantinescu, the votes received by Ion Iliescu would include 18.40 percent of the votes of the PD supporters and 5.50 percent of the PNTCD supporters, which is disconcerting and disturbing for the opposition parties. In addition, 8.70 percent of the PNTCD supporters would vote for Gh. Funar.

The number of undecided, 29 percent, which seems to be a large number, is added to those who have a definite opinion. However, the sociologists believe that these undecided probably will not vote. It will be impossible to achieve 100 percent participation in the vote so their position does not seem to have very much influence on future statistics.

Cluj County residents were also asked to express their opinions on the issues that worry them. They are: the life and future of the youth, lack of money, the way in which the elderly are treated, and dissatisfaction with the activity of Parliament. Traditionalists, but marked by daily chaos, Cluj residents are turning to the family, the church, and the army, institutions which can offer the citizen much desired security.

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Slovenia: United List Leaves Coalition

AU2601164896 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 26 Jan 96

[Report by Sandi Frelih on news conference by Janez Kocijancic, president of the United List of Social Democrats, in Ljubljana on 26 January—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Kocijancic] The presidency of the United List concludes unanimously that by this [proposal for the replacement of Economics Minister Tajnikar] the prime minister and the president of the Liberal Democracy of Slovenia have directly and unilaterally violated some important provisions of the agreement on mutual cooperation and participation of the United List in the government of Dr. Janez Drnovsek dated 20 January 1993. For that reason, the presidency concludes that, as of today, this agreement is no longer applicable for the United List. With this, the United List is leaving the government coalition. The ministers of the United List [Minister of Science and Technology Rado Bohinc, Labor Minister Rina Klinar, and Culture Minister Sergij Pelhan] will submit their written resignations to the prime minister.

[Frelih] Janez Kocjancic claims that Prime Minister Dr. Janez Drnovsek, by proposing the replacement of Economics Minister Maks Tajnikar and the appointment of a new minister, retaliated for the way this party voted in the parliament when it approved changes to pensions and disability legislation.

The coalition parties' budget agreement stipulated that representatives of the government would coordinate the changes with the pensioners. However, this did not happen, at least not regarding the latest government proposal. In short, the government did not negotiate with the pensioners in the same manner it negotiated with the students, for example.

Kocijancic mentioned that his party insisted on the parliament going ahead with the interpellation of Minister Tajnikar as this would be the only way to prove how unfounded the accusations against him were. He also said that, in unofficial contacts with him, the prime minister often leveled criticism at Tajnikar's expense; however, he had never received any official proposal for Tajnikar's replacement. The minister, who is in charge of one of the most important deparments, is successful, Kocijancic said, since without him there could be no so-called success story.

The United List was a faithful coalition partner. It honored agreements more than the Christian Democrats did. From now on it will be in the opposition and in the future it will act in accordance with its new position.

Slovenia: Drnovsek Says Stability Not Threatened

AU2601164996 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 26 Jan 96

[Statement by Slovene Prime Minister Janez Drnovsek on 26 January; place not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] Well, the United List has left [the coalition]. The government is not threatened by it, the government will continue to function. I believe that the remaining two coalition partners have sufficient support in parliament. I am also counting on the individual votes of other deputies when needed. I trust that political stability is not threatened by this.

Slovenia: Peterle Assesses United List Departure

AU2601170896 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 26 Jan 96

[Statement by Lojze Peterle, president of the Slovene Christian Democrats on 26 January; place not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] I would say that the situation is, above all, clearer now but not necessarily critical. I mean clarity implies a lesser degree of criticalness. It is critical when things are played in two different ways, a little bit to the left, a little bit to the right, a step forward, a step backward. Now relations will have to be sorted out. In a way, with the departure of the United List, they have already been sorted out. I have not seen the resignations of this party's ministers yet. Once I do, I will finally believe that this decision was serious. Of course, consequences will follow.

Slovenia: Christian Democrats To Stay in Coalition

AU2601220396 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1800 GMT 26 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [passage omitted] The ministers of the United List will submit letters of resignation to the prime minister at the beginning of next week.

Following the departure of the coalition partner, Prime Minister Drnovsek assessed that the government was not threatened. He said there probably will be no need to search for a new coalition partner, although he could not rule out this possibility completely.

He will not resort to the party key in the search for new ministers, and he will not offer a new coalition agreement to the United List. He did not offer the post of the minister without portfolio to the United List in exchange for the replacement of [Economics] Minister Tajnikar.

The Slovene Christian Democrats have not yet negotiated the filling of empty ministerial seats with the prime

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minister. In their opinion, the coalition is balanced now; however, reasons for early elections still exist, although the Christian Democrats will not leave the coalition because they have no intention of triggering a government crisis and, thus, forcing early elections.

On the other hand, the Social Democratic Party is of the opinion that the idea of early elections is now more topical than ever, naturally, on the condition that the Christian Democrats leave the coalition. The situation in parliament will not change much, the Social Democrats assess, as they expect that the United List, even as an opposition party, will vote similarly to the Liberal Democracy in the future. [passage omitted]

It was rumored in parliamentary circles that even this morning the prime minister was still looking frantically for the president of the state in the hope that he would be able to convince the United List to stay in the coalition.

Slovenia: Kucan Opposes Early Elections

AU2601221296 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1800 GMT 26 Jan 96

[Interview with Slovene President Milan Kucan by Lidija Kosi in Murska Sobota on 26 January—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Kucan] Relations in the government coalition have long been such that what happened today came as no surprise. The only question was which party and when [words indistinct] that its remaining in the government coalition would be pointless. [passage omitted]

[Kosi] Do you believe that elections will be held before the autumn?

[Kucan] I see no reason why the departure of one party from the coalition would signal early elections. We know what our legislation and the legal order stipulate and what can result from early elections. My stance is—and this should also be the indicator of the responsibility of the government and those who head it and, of course, also the State Chamber—that the elections for the State Chamber should take place at the normal time and that they should not create any extraordinary situations that would warrant early elections.

Slovenia: Thaler Says Italy Obstructs EU Membership

AU2501180896 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 25 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] At the meeting with the parliamentary delegation for relations with Slovenia in Brussels last night Italian Foreign Minister Susanna Agnelli said that Italy would like to see Slovenia among the European Union's associate members, but it expects a more appropriate reaction and steps from Slovenia. She also explained in more detail what sort of a reaction she expects from Ljubljana.

In connection with this, Foreign Minister Zoran Thaler gave an interview for our radio station to our colleague Nadja Pengov:

[Begin recording] [Pengov] It appears that nothing has changed in Italy at the beginning of the first month of the Italian presidency over the European Union. It seems that Rome pursues a policy of obstructing Slovenia on its way to the Union, the foreign minister says, although 14 members support the signing of the associate agreement. This, Thaler says, gives rise to the question whether Italy can head the European Union correctly.

The sharp replies of Minister Agnelli were an outside reaction to unpleasant questions by members of the sub-commission who wondered when Slovenia would sign the association membership agreement. She replied with her own interpretation of the talks with Slovenia. Minister Thaler then drew attention to a fact that is not widely known in Slovenia. The association of the Istrian option-takers carried out an opinion poll among its members, asking them whether they would prefer to regain former assets in the form of a compensation—Slovenia has already paid more than $20 million to a special bank account—or in kind. A vast majority favored compensation.

[Thaler] Such results, if confirmed, would erase the reasons for the Slovene-Italian conflict.

[Pengov] As for the Spanish compromise proposal, the facts are as follows:

[Thaler] The agreement reached with the Spanish presidency no longer contained the condition about the bilateral agreement between Italy and Slovenia.

[Pengov] He also repeated assurances that four years after the ratification of the association agreement we would liberalize our real estate market, in connection with our entry into the Union. We will also pledge to pass amendments to the property law. Several statements by the Italian side implied that Rome concurred with the above then. Therefore:

[Thaler] If they now maintain that this in itself is not sufficient, that a full agreement has not been reached, then this constitutes a deviation from Italy's stance sported in December. [end recording]

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Federal

FRY: Platform for Talks With NATO on Transit Set Up

LD2601162096 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1601 GMT 26 Jan 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Jan. 26 (TANJUG)—A Yugoslav Government committee on Friday set up a platform for talks with NATO about the realization of a Yugoslav-NATO agreement on transit arrangements regarding the Bosnia peace implementation operation.

The Yugoslav Government committee for cooperation with the U.N. peace force and the NATO-led Bosnia peace Implementation Force (IFOR) appointed a delegation of experts from relevant departments to the talks.

The platform reaffirms Yugoslavia's readiness for a consistent implementation of the Bosnia peace agreement, which was initialed in Dayton, Ohio in November and signed in Paris in December.

This is Yugoslavia's concrete contribution to the restoration of peace, stability and confidence in the Balkans and Europe, said a statement released after the committee meeting, which was presided by Yugoslav Prime Minister Radoje Kontic.

FRY: Croatian, FRY Experts Discuss Missing Persons

AU2501211596 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 25 Jan 96

[Report by Vladimir Nikolic—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] The expert groups of the FRY Commission for Humanitarian Issues and Missing Persons and the Croatian Government Commission for Imprisoned and Missing Persons met in Belgrade today. The representatives of the relevant commissions of the Serb Republic and the Republic of Serbian Krajina were also invited to attend the meeting, as were the representatives of the International Committee of the Red Cross.

In light of this, Dr. Pavle Todorovic, president of the FRY commission, told us that today's meeting came as a result of the direct talks of Milan Milutinovic and Mate Granic, chiefs of diplomacy of Yugoslavia and Croatia, as well as the Dayton accord, by which all prisoners should be liberated and all sides produce missing persons' lists.

According to Todorovic, they no longer discussed prisoners as the war is over and the Geneva conventions clearly stipulate that one cannot negotiate an exchange but only a release.

[Todorovic] The Yugoslav side persistently demands the solution of the problem of the missing soldiers in Donje Kolibe, missing pilots, the problem of the so-called Savnica and Niksic groups, and a list of 61 persons that whom we can assert, according to our information, are alive.

[Nikolic] The problem of the missing persons is also the key problem in the further normalization of the relations and the creation of trust between Croatia and Yugoslavia. It is expected that this meeting of the expert groups will yield concrete results in the specific cases of the quest for the missing persons.

FRY: 620 B-H Soldiers Reportedly Held in Serbia

AU2801202096 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 28 Jan 96

[Report by Dusan Citic]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Citic] From the (?Vranesko) Polje reception center near Cajetina on Mt. Zlatibor, 64 members of the Muslim armed forces [Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina] are leaving for the United States, 39 for France, and five for Sweden. They have been here since the beginning of August last year. Sixty-eight of the overall number of 798 members of the Muslim army that fled to Serbia have already departed for Australia, Ireland, and the United States.

Let us recall that they illegally crossed from the former Bosnia- Herzegovina to the territory of the FRY. Most of them surrendered to the Yugoslav Army, while only a few of in small armed groups tried to cross illegally to The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia.

[Man identified by caption as Muhidin Cesko] I can thank both the officers here and, personally, the Serbian Government, and everyone who helped us.

[Citic] One should add that the FRY paid for all the costs of their accommodations, food, and health care for the first month. Immediately after they were received both in this center and the one in Goce, where half of them were transferred, international humanitarian organizations were allowed access to them. They listed all these men, and from then on had them under their care.

[Second man] My name is Hamdija, my surname is Kurtic. If I were to leave this place tomorrow, I would, for example, say thank you very much to Yugoslavia and all the people that accepted us here.

[Man identified by caption as Mustafa Setic] I would like to say thank you. I would like peace and understanding to prevail forever among men throughout the

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world, and that this evil that happened among the people of the Balkans never takes place again.

[Citic] From November last year the international organization for migration has had its presence here in this reception center and the one in Goce. It works on the emigration of people in cooperation with several countries. Another 620 members of the Muslim armed forces are waiting in these two centers to leave for third countries.

FRY: Agreement Drafted To Normalize Ties to FYROM

LD2901091796 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0858 GMT 29 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 29 January (Tanjug)—At its session today the federal [Yugoslav] government approved the draft text of the agreement on normalizing relations between Belgrade and Skopje. The two sides will later decide when the agreement will be signed.

FRY: Kontic, Slovakia's PM Discuss Economic Ties

LD2901133796 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1108 GMT 29 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Belgrade, 29 Jan (TANJUG)—Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar arrived in Belgrade this morning.

In addition to Federal [Yugoslav] Prime Minister Radoje Kontic, Meciar was welcomed at Belgrade airport by Minister of Transport Zoran Vujovic and Interior Minister Vukasin Jokanovic, as well as Deputy Foreign Minister Radoslav Bulajic.

In a statement for the press at the airport, Kontic said he believes that the Slovak prime minister's visit will mark a new phase of dynamic development of bilateral relations between Yugoslavia and Slovakia.

"I am particularly pleased that this senior and competent delegation is headed by Mr. Meciar, the prime minister of the Slovak Government, a well-established statesman who advocates democratic and prosperous Slovakia and who is a proven friend of the Yugoslav nations," the Yugoslav prime minister said.

He said that traditionally good relations and spiritual closeness between the Slovaks and the Yugoslav peoples have been preserved even during the sanctions which the world imposed on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY].

"We see the visit by this authoritative delegation of the Slovak Republic as a wish to widen political dialogue and develop versatile relations, as well as the readiness to help Yugoslavia reintegrate in the international community," Kontic said.

Kontic stressed the federal government's firm commitment to renewing bilateral cooperation with Slovakia. He said that all conditions for that are ripe and the only thing that needs to be done is to create an institutional framework for developing cooperation.

"As early as this year or next year at the latest, we can expect economic cooperation to reach around $400 million, which was the value of our trade immediately before the sanctions were imposed," Kontic said.

Addressing journalists, Prime Minister Meciar recalled good relations between the Slovaks and the Yugoslavs through history, and stressed the huge importance Slovakia attaches to the peace agreement in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

"The Slovak Republic is ready for new economic contracts and to take part in the reconstruction of your country," Meciar said. He added that his government—as holder of the CEFTA [Central European Free Trade Agreement] presidency—will launch an initiative for talks on Yugoslavia possibly joining that international organization. [passage omitted]

FRY: Romanian Defense Minister Visits Belgrade

LD2501145696 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1321 GMT 25 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 25 Jan (TANJUG)—Romanian Defense Minister Gheorghe Tinca arrived this morning for a two-day official visit to our country at the invitation of Federal Defense Minister Pavle Bulatovic, the Ministry of Defense announced.

The Romanian minister was given a formal welcome at Belgrade's Beograd Airport.

During long talks, ministers Tinca and Bulatovic discussed various issues concerning cooperation in the fields of defense and security between the two countries and stressed the need to strengthen bilateral contacts.

The two ministers agreed to establish joint teams of experts who will draft several documents on long-term cooperation in the fields of defense, military industry, and civil defense.

The guest from Romania today visited the military-technical institute in Zarkovo.

According to the itinerary of the visit, FRY President Zoran Lilic and federal Prime Minister Dr. Radoje Kontic will receive the Romanian guest tomorrow.

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FRY: TANJUG, Slovene News Agency Sign Agreement

LD2801151396 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1333 GMT 28 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Budapest, 28 Jan (TANJUG)—An agreement on future cooperation between the TANJUG news agency and the Slovene news agency STA was signed in Budapest today, the first of this kind since the setting up of STA in June 1991.

The agreement was signed by the Director General of TANJUG Slobodan Jovanovic and the Director General of STA Tadej Labernik at the Kempinski Hotel.

Jovanovic stressed that this was one of the first agreements between Yugoslavia and Slovenia, and that cooperation in the sphere of information would certainly contribute to further bilateral relations in the economic, political, and cultural areas, and to the interests of the Serbian, Montenegrin, and Slovene peoples. [passage omitted]

Serbia

Serbia: Draskovic Urges Bosnian Serbs To Stay

AU2601215796 Bad Vilbel VESTI Serbo-Croatian 26 Jan 96 p 4

[Unattributed report: "There Will Be No Return Where There Are No Serbs"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "A state that had once formed an umbrella over almost all Serb Krajinas and regions in the Balkans disappeared in rubble and blood. Tens of thousands of Serbs were killed and maimed, over 1 million have become nomads without home and hearth, and misery and hopelessness have enveloped all of you with the exception of a handful of those who have made their fortunes and established themselves on your deaths, suffering, and misery," reads the open letter by Serbian Renewal Movement leader Vuk Draskovic addressed to the Serbs in the Serb Republic in Bosnia-Herzegovina, as reported by the SRPSKA REC party newsletter.

Calling on all Serbs to make up with the other two peoples in Bosnia, Draskovic said that there will be no reconstruction aid for an ethnically pure Serb Republic; it will "suffer and decay, everyone will avoid it, since you cannot live on promises and gusle [Serbian national string instrument]."

"There were those who from the start knew that they were leading the people into a catastrophe, but their only interest was holding on to power and theft. They wish to prove to you that there is no coexistence and that the war has not been senseless. They are lying to you when they promise unification with Serbia. Nothing will come of it for the time being, because the superpowers oppose it. We will unite once the people who started the war are removed from power," Draskovic said.

Stay here where the Serbs have been living for centuries, Draskovic said, do not leave and take your graves with you because "where there are no living and dead Serbs, there will be no return."

Serbia: Political Aims of Milosevic's Wife Detailed

AU2801150396 Paris AFP in English 0309 GMT 29 Jan 96

[By Milan Dragovic]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Jan 28 (AFP)—Serbia's first lady Mira Markovic, wife of powerful President Slobodan Milosevic, is the flagbearer of a movement which is steadily extending its influence as she nourishes the ambition of transforming the political landscape here.

Markovic, 53, is chief mentor of the Yugoslav United Left (JUL), a coalition of 15 small groups gathered round a communist-oriented party.

The alliance has no seats in parliament, but Markovic has made it the vehicle of a sustained onslaught on the Serbian nationalism that was at the root of the breakup of former Yugoslavia.

A sociology lecturer at Belgrade University, she cherishes fond memories of a time when south Slavs lived in amity. She is campaigning for coexistence once again, arguing it is dictated by economic necessity.

Detractors dismiss her dream as unrealistic, but a good number of political analysts see it as a reflection of her husband's secret thoughts.

Markovic reputedly exerts not inconsiderable influence on the Serbian leader who is widely blamed for fanning the extreme Serb nationalism that led to the separatist wars in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia.

In the bimonthly review DUGA she writes a column on the most varied topics ranging from politics to religion via history, culture, social trends and the environment.

The often ambiguous and elliptical prose comes under careful scrutiny in western embassies as well as among the general public. They are searching, as if in a political horoscope, for signs and portents about the intentions of Serbia's strongman, who has a penchant for being secretive.

Markovic's fiercest critic is Radical Party chief Vojislav Seselj, who misses no opportunity to warn everyone she

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is a "red witch," a double reference to her supposed powers of divination and her Marxist ideas.

A short woman who never wears makeup and often dresses in severe lines, the president's wife is regarded with some awe.

On New Year's Eve, one of the state television stations cancelled a variety show at the very last minute because it was suddenly realised one of the artists was wearing a flower on her hat—as the first lady was fond of doing a few years ago.

In November, the Socialist Party her husband heads sacked two leading protagonists of the nationalist creed, Borisav Jovic and Mihailo Markovic (no relation to the president's spouse), both of them party deputy chairmen.

They had criticised Milosevic, and also waged a war of words with his wife in the press.

The JUL makes a big point of forging links with the powerful heads of state enterprises and business leaders, many of whom have got rich during the years of war in neighbouring Bosnia-Herzegovina.

It also looks for support in the world of the arts and from media personalities.

JUL's aim is to thwart opponents in the nationalist camp.

But what most worries its adversaries, where they be liberals or right wingers, is the paradoxical hostility Markovic evinces towards the transition to a market economy.

"Urgent privatisation would be the equivalent of legalising the plunder" of state firms, she opined this week.

Serbia: PM Views Economy, Hungarian Minority

LD2801211996 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2046 GMT 28 Jan 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Novi Sad, Yugoslavia, Jan. 28 (TANJUG)—Serbian Premier Mirko Marjanovic was quoted Sunday as saying he was confident that 1996 would be the year of good prospects for the Yugoslav economy.

The opening of the domestic market to the world that has already begun will be decisive for a speedy economic growth this year and in the years to come, Marjanovic told a Hungarian-language daily published in Serbia's northern province of Vojvodina.

Speaking for the MAGYAR SZO daily, Marjanovic said agriculture was vital for the Serbian economy and that now that the sanctions had been suspended the Serbian agriculture could produce enough both for the domestic market and for export.

He said Yugoslavia paid special attention to relations with Hungary, saying it would broaden cooperation with this country and its companies.

National minorities in Yugoslavia in general, ethnic Hungarians included, should be the bridge that links the state whose citizens they are with their mother state, he said.

Members of national minorities are expected to be loyal to the state they are living in, and their ties with their mother state should be such as to contribute to the development of their national being, he said.

"The Republic of Serbia has defined in its constitution equal rights for all citizens living in it and has fully ensured their exercise in practice as well as additional rights to all national minorities in keeping with the highest European and international standards," he said.

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